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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 320



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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DIRECTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 8-10

[Article by Geng Yan [5087 4291]: "The Direction of India's Foreign Policy"]

[Excerpts] Recently India has launched a series of diplomatic activities and published many speeches which are food for thought. National leaders have frequently gone abroad on visits; a mutual non-aggression treaty with Pakistan has been discussed and signed; they took the initiative to plan and convene the South-south Conference; Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has repeatedly said that India "is neither drawing close to the Soviet Union nor the United States," "and is not opposed to China," etc. All this has caught people's attention and become a topic of discussion both in India and abroad.

### Two Years of Diplomatic Difficulties

In early 1980, Indira Gandhi was again elected to head the government, just as the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and for the past 2 years India had had difficulties in foreign affairs. At the UN and various international conferences on the problems of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, India has taken a completely different stand than most of the Third World countries, developing its own view to absolve Soviet tyranny and thus has been increasingly passive diplomatically. The Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan has created more and more problems for Indian diplomacy. On the one hand, although the Soviet Union involved Indira Gandhi's government, at the same time it has done its best to nurture the faction that favors rapprochement with the Soviets to check the Indian government.

Indian public opinion has not been satisfied with this situation, and has constantly questioned the government's foreign policy. Some periodicals have continuously held conferences with famous people from various sectors of society and expressed anxieties about India's diplomatic future. The Indian newspaper THE TRIBUNE pointed out correctly that "nothing has damaged India's reputation abroad and injured its reputation more than India's fundamental standpoint on the Afghanistan and Kampuchean questions" and lamented the fact that "India has already become the monster's number one trumpeter in

world forums." The Diplomatic Advisory Committee of the Indian Parliament has conducted a severe attack on the Foreign Ministry because of India's steadily deteriorating international reputation.

#### Efforts To Change the Passive Situation

The Soviet Union has always had a very high regard for India, which is a major country in strategic South Asia, so there is little more to say about this. With one hand it involves India and with the other instigates deeper contradictions and divisions between the countries of South Asia. Thus it can both profit from their conflicts and force India to lean more on the Soviet Union. After the armed occupation of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union intensified its instigation of discord in Indian-Pakistani relations.

India has not turned a blind eye to all these actions by the Soviet Union nor has it remained indifferent to them.

To increase room for maneuvering diplomatically and to change its image, India first of all looked to improving relations with neighboring countries in South Asia.

It also paid attention to strengthening relations with Third World nations. Most outstanding in this regard is that it sponsored and took the initiative in organizing the South-South Conference of Developing Countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and conducted an exchange of views and coordinated standpoints on the questions of North-South dialogue and South-South cooperation. This had positive significance for promoting South-South relations and giving impetus to global talks and thus earned them high regard.

Since May of last year, Indian leaders have frequently gone abroad on visits and actively participated in a variety of international activities. This is evidence of India's eagerness to vigorously open roads diplomatically. In particular, Mrs Indira Gandhi has traveled a great deal, visiting five countries on five continents, which is unprecedented in her history in politics. In this period the prime minister and the foreign minister visited countries of the eastern alliance in succession. India's extraordinary concern for the eastern alliance is obvious. In her visits, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi also publicly proclaimed that India was an "honorary member" of the eastern alliance as a sign of rapprochement. People think that these actions and the polite refusal last August to go to Moscow to participate in the celebrations for the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Indian-Soviet treaty, as well as going abroad to avoid the celebrations in New Delhi, and further declining in November of last year an invitation to visit the Soviet Union, have created a clear contrast rarely seen in Indian-Soviet relations.

Another important link in Indian diplomacy is the question of relations with China. To further its hegemonist and expansionist policies in Asia the Soviet Union is very unwilling to see improved relations between the two Asian countries of China and India, and has actively tried to slander them.

However, this has given rise to misgivings in Indian public opinion. This passionate desire of the Indian people for improved relations with China cannot but become a factor when the Indian government considers its policy towards China. This shows that India is not willing to follow the Soviet Union blindly and must weigh and make foreign policy on the basis of its own interests.

#### "Close but Not Intimate"; "Distance in Moderation"

Citing an analysis of foreign diplomats stationed in New Delhi, Japan pointed out with regard to this series of diplomatic moves by India that this "symbolized Indian-Soviet relations at the present stage." It is even recognized that the "India which the Soviet Union was to support "at the time of concluding the Indian-Soviet treaty" has shown, in recent international situations, a tendency to "break with the Soviet Union." This is by no means accidental.

First of all, because India lacks energy resources and urgently needs to import industrial technology, its economic difficulties are severe, and the Soviet Union cannot miraculously satisfy these Indian demands. This cannot but prompt India to look to others, including the West.

Further, the Soviet's wild ambition to dominate the South is already abundantly clear, and if India continues to maintain a "special relationship" with the Soviet Union, it will be further isolated in the Third World, particularly among the nonaligned nations.

As concerns bilateral relations between India and the Soviet Union, India must weigh the advantages and disadvantages. Although India and the Soviet Union had a special relationship in the 1970's, Soviet aid did not increase, but on the contrary, there was reverse aid, where the Indian repayments to the Soviets were greater than the new Soviet aid given. It is obvious that maintaining a "special relationship" does not necessarily yield "special benefits."

According to the views of Western diplomats stationed in New Delhi which were cited in dispatches, the high tide of Indian-Soviet relations occasioned by signing the treaty has actually passed; because of the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan, in the mutual relations between India and the Soviets, the Soviet Union's need for India is greater than India's need for the Soviet Union. England's INTELLIGENCE DIGEST recently said that "due to the challenges of the 1980's and 1990's Mrs Gandhi knows that current policy is out-of-date and after considering public opinion, has changed the point of emphasis politically. These changes will be even clearer and more outstanding in 1982." The Indian reporter Reddy thinks that "now India is gradually taking the foreign policy direction of maintaining and strengthening its nonaligned position," and "to a certain degree, needs to adopt an equidistant policy."

However, observers think that although India's tendency to maintain a distance from the Soviet Union has already been revealed, it is different

from Indian-Soviet relations taking a sudden turn. Because there are countless ties between India and the Soviet Union, India can still seek help from the Soviet Union in military and economic aid. India's state enterprises also need Soviet spare parts, technology and capital, and it is the same in military and industrial production. Although there are abuses in settling Indian-Soviet trade in rupees, an Indian which has a shortage of foreign exchange and a trade deficit which increases annually, stands to profit. On the other hand, to hang on to India, and to avoid falling short of success in India over a number of years, the Soviet Union is looking for a chance to lower the conditions of aid and at times is a little crude in roping in India. Observers think that in view of the bitter consequences of maintaining a special relationship with the Soviet Union in the past, the Indira Gandhi government may readjust slightly and form "close but not intimate" relations with the Soviet Union, i.e., maintain close relations and maintain a certain distance.

India's relations with the United States have different characteristics. The United States has a variety of profound influences on India--this can't be compared with the arrival of the Soviet Union in South Asia in the 1950's. However, the strategic interests of India and the United States in the subcontinent have given rise to contradictions and discord: India always attacks the United States and the United States complains about India. Even so, both sides have room to maneuver. In 1980 when Indira Gandhi again assumed office, the U.S. investment in India increased 150 percent over 1979, which is among the highest foreign investments. In the past 10 or so years, although Indian-U.S. relations have repeatedly hit a low point, both sides have repeatedly expressed a desire to improve relations. Although Indian-U.S. relations are cool, both sides have a need for moderation, so Indian-U.S. relations can be said to be "distance in moderation."

Observers believe that "being close but not intimate" with the Soviet Union and "distant in moderation" with the United States, i.e., leaning towards the Soviet Union, but striking a balance between the two countries, while developing relations in other areas is the foreign policy pattern for India in the future.

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CSO: 4005/897



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMUNIST VIEW OF MALVINAS WAR IMPACT

REUTERS Beijing XINHUA WIRE in Chinese 21 Jan 82 p 6

[Article by Guo Weicheng (0751 0251 2052): "The Impact of the Battle for the Malvinas on Pan-American Relations"]

[Text] The British and Argentine forces in the Malvinas reached a ceasefire agreement on 14 June, thus bringing to an end the conflict there, which had gone on for more than 2 months. The military experts or planners of NATO, the United States and other countries are now carrying out all-around studies to evaluate the experiences of this modern-style war, while the politicians and scholars are studying the impact of the conflict on international politics and foreign relations, and especially on Pan-American relations.

On the day of the Malvinas ceasefire, U.S. Vice President Bush stated that at present a "main aim" of U.S. foreign policy is to "retrieve" the losses caused to Pan-American relations by U.S. support for Britain in the Malvinas issue. However, can the United States truly "retrieve" the losses? If it is said that Argentina was the military loser in the Malvinas battle, then the United States was the political loser. What it lost was political influence in Latin America, and the splits between itself and the Latin American countries deepened.

When the Malvinas conflict broke out, the United States maintained neutrality on the surface and embarked on shuttle mediation. However, according to the British press, while the official U.S. stand was "even-handedness," the United States quietly provided Britain with important logistics and intelligence assistance. Hence it was not surprising that, in mediating between "two allies," the United States could only come up with some schemes that favored Britain. Later, with official U.S. support and military assistance, Britain reportedly escalated its military activities in the Malvinas, which finally resulted in the 14 June outcome that hurt the national feelings of the Argentine people. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT said, "From Buenos Aires to Mexico City, people are agitatedly talking about the Yankee 'betrayal' in the Falkland crisis. This will pose a serious problem for future relations between the United States and the countries of Latin America." And this situation is really thousands of miles removed from Reagan's words, uttered just after taking office, about "resolve not to neglect this hemisphere." If it is said that Reagan's predecessors "neglected" Latin America, then Reagan has gone even further in the Malvinas crisis.

The United States faced a choice in the Malvinas crisis. One American newspaper pointed out, this is "a fundamental choice on which came first between two different hemispheres and two different alliances." On the one hand there was the alliance with the Third World countries of Latin America, and on the other there was the alliance with Britain and the NATO countries. The United States chose the latter without the slightest hesitation. This choice involved the longstanding U.S. relations with the old ally Britain and the mutual relations in the Atlantic alliance. It was U.S. strategic interests that played a role here.

Judging by the present situation, the consequences for the United States of this choice include the following three aspects:

First, it has done damage, hard to repair, to the OAS, that is the traditional Pan-American system. The FOLIO DE SAN PABLO said, "The countries of the OAS have been spurned by their powerful 'protector,' the United States. The United States only bestows legality on the OAS when it happens to use this organization for its own schemes, interests and prejudices." A number of leaders of Latin American countries have pointed out that U.S. moves have stuffed into the historical archives the Monroe doctrine of "America for the Americans," Pan-Americanism and the Pan-American mutual aid treaties. (Andres Bionton), secretary general of the Latin American conference, also said that the Pan-American system had "completely collapsed."

Second, it has deepened conflict and mistrust between the United States and the countries of Latin America. One Latin American newspaper said: The countries of Latin America have finally seen that "at the crucial moment, the United States will stand by its Western allies in opposition to Latin America." The WASHINGTON POST said, "The Reagan administration is becoming more and more isolated in its quest for friends and allies." In the face of the evergrowing turmoil in Central America and the Caribbean, the United States needs Latin American support more than ever before, but this support has beyond any doubt suffered fatal damage as a result of the Malvinas crisis. Even Secretary of State Bain had to admit that U.S. support for Britain had "harmed U.S. interests in Latin America."

Third, and the point that gives the United States the greatest worry, the rifts that have developed between the United States and the Western countries on the one hand and Latin America on the other as a result of the Malvinas crisis have provided the Soviet Union with still greater possibilities and opportunities for penetration into the Western Hemisphere. The New York TIMES said, "Since the Soviet Union has for many years been looking for opportunities to expand its influence in South America," it will without doubt be regarded as a choice object for providing military aid and export markets. The Los Angeles TIMES said, "It is this possibility that gives the U.S. Government still greater worry: If a war breaks out in the future, it may open the way for the Soviet Union to penetrate further into the Western Hemisphere."

However, while seeing from the Malvinas crisis the perils over Pan-American relations, the countries of Latin America can also see that only the Third World countries are the true supporters and sympathizers of the Third World



countries. Panamanian President Royo said, as a result of this "the peoples of Latin America must propose afresh the need for unprecedented unity." The EL UNIVERSAL of Venezuela said, "In Venezuela, Peru, Panama and other countries, the idea that Latin America must rely on its own resources is daily gaining ground," and "this is already the actual reality."

CSO: 4005/987

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC ENVOY TO KUWAIT COMMENTS ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

GF261840 Kuwait AL-'ANBA' in Arabic 25 Jun 82 p 4

[Report on interview granted by PRC Ambassador in Kuwait (Ding Haw) [name as published] to AL-'ANBA' correspondent Fatimah Mansur; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Answering a question on the PRC's position on Israel's arbitrary behavior toward the Palestinian people, Ambassador (Ding) noted: "The PRC continuously supports the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people, which is designed to recover the occupied territories, to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and to establish an independent state on their national soil. This is the PRC's clear position." Mr (Ding) expressed indignation about the Israeli practices toward the Arab Palestinian people by saying: "The PRC expresses indignation about the Israeli expansionist, arbitrary and aggressive policy, toward the Arab peoples in general and the Palestinian people--in and out of the occupied territories--in particular, in addition to its latest behavior in the Middle East." Mr (Ding) said that the PRC leaders have expressed this constant stand, and in addition, the PRC information media has explained these mentioned principles. He stressed that the PRC will firmly and forever support the struggle of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people, indicating that these principles which PRC adheres to--in regard to Arab issues--will never change. He added that the PRC's aid [to these peoples] will continuously increase. Ambassador (Ding) described the acts of violence perpetrated by the Israelis against the Palestinian people, in and out of the occupied territories, as being insane acts committed against the struggling Arab people. He pointed out that this behavior is mere transgression which controls the Zionist policy; that is why it has been subjected to serious worldwide denunciation and condemnation.

[Question] In view of what you have mentioned about the Israeli policy and your reference to this policy as being insane, how do you view the next Israeli move in the Middle East?

[Answer] All I can say is that the Arab peoples, together with the Palestinian people have to take the initiative in their just struggle. We hope that the Palestinian people, together with the various factions will reinforce their stances by adopting internal solidarity and by having solidarity with the Arab countries. We also hope that the Arab countries will reinforce solidarity

among themselves because with this solidarity and their economic power, they will be a superpower capable of confronting Israel's expansionist policy without any help. This will also force Israel to live in complete isolation and lead to foiling Israel's policy. This will certainly be in the interest of the Arab region as a whole.

The PRC ambassador expressed optimism on the Arab issues by saying: "The Arab peoples must not relinquish an inch of their territory, because they will be victorious if efforts are massed."

[Question] Your answer makes me ask the following question: How can the Palestinian issue be resolved now? Through negotiations which will lead to peace or through war?

[Answer] I would like to sum up my answer as follows: The Palestinian people have to remain steadfast and continue their struggle with full confidence and faith that they will be victorious. Besides, they have to be ready for a long-lasting struggle that achieves their full national rights.

[Question] How do you view the political scenario designed to settle the Middle East issue in the near future?

[Answer] As for settlement in the Middle East, it depends on the self-power of the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle. It also depends on solidarity among themselves and with the Third World countries in addition to the support and backing of these countries.

[Question] In view of your support for the Arab causes, it seems that the PRC move is relatively confined to these issues. Do you think that the PRC can play a more effective role in the Middle East issue?

[Answer] Frankly speaking, although the PRC is a big country, its power is still limited. But, as I said, the PRC sticks to its principles and assists the Arab peoples as much as it can. These principles are permanent, constant and will never change, since the issues of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian issue are just. We did not, as we will never do, impose our opinion on the others, since all aid stems only from our principles.

CSO: 4504/390

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY TACTICS DISCUSSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Apr 82 p 4

[Article by Ji Yanfeng [1323 1693 7364]: "Diplomats Who Smuggle"]

[Text] Before the echo of the scandalous news that the Soviets were using "toy bombs" in Afghanistan to lure children to their deaths had faded, news of the scandal of its diplomats in India using "toys" for smuggling purposes was out.

According to a report not long ago in the magazine TODAY'S INDIA, for a period of time Soviet diplomats stationed in India "have been engaged in smuggling activities on a large scale," which are becoming increasingly rampant.

In the early morning of 1 August of last year, 2 Soviets deplaned at the Delhi's Palam Airport with 1,400 kg of luggage, saying that it was full of "toys and books" being shipped to the Soviet Embassy. This time the "toys and books" which normally would claim no special attention did not slip past. A customs official examined one of the boxes and found nearly 10,000 watches and radios hidden inside.

Around August of last year, Bombay customs intercepted a car traveling on the Bombay-Ahmadabad highway and uncovered watches worth 780,000 rubles, many of which had been assembled in the Soviet Union.

In June and July of last year a large number of Soviet manufactured and assembled watches were discovered at the Nepal-India border. Subsequent to that, Nepal customs detained a shipment of goods bound for the Soviet diplomatic mission in Katmandu and found watches worth \$50,000. The Soviet officials who came forward from the Soviet mission to collect the shipment dared not claim it.

It is better to view the smuggling attempts by diplomats that failed and were brought to light in India as the beginning of a continuing farce, rather than as the end of a farce, with a Moscow trademark. This is because people remember that Moscow is in the habit of giving continuing farcical performances: on the one hand it supported Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea, and on the other hand it occupied mountainous Afghanistan itself. The day before yesterday one of its spy submarines committed a disgraceful gaffe in Sweden, and yesterday one of its spy subs scurried through Italy's front door to do its thing. Because of this, in a sense, the cases of Soviet diplomatic smuggling are a warning signal: beware "the hands of Moscow!"

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DPRK GROUPS DISCUSS ANTI-U.S. STRUGGLE

HK290854 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jun 82 p 6

[XINHUA Report: "DPRK Fatherland Front and Other Organizations Issue Statement on 'Common Anti-U.S. Struggle Month' Calling on United Nations To Force U.S. Troops To Withdraw From South Korea"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 24 Jun (XINHUA)--According to a report published today in NODONG SINMUN, 14 social bodies including the DPRK Fatherland Front and the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland issued a joint statement on 22 June on the common anti-U.S. struggle month calling on the United States to withdraw all troops from South Korea in accordance with the resolution of the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly.

The statement said that we firmly believe that, during the coming common anti-U.S. struggle month (25 June-27 July), governments of various countries, international democratic organizations, various political parties, social bodies and peace-loving people throughout the world will express their active support for the just struggle of the Korean people for the independence of their fatherland and peaceful reunification. They will severely rebuke the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their carrying out of fresh provocations. They will also use various ways and means to actively launch throughout the world, a common anti-U.S. struggle to force the U.S. aggressors out of South Korea.

The statement said that 7 years ago the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and the transformation of the cease-fire agreement into a peace agreement. However, not only has the United States not honored this resolution, behind the scenes they have even stepped up preparations for a new war.

The statement said that today, more than a quarter of a century after the cease-fire, U.S. troops are still occupying South Korea under the banner of "U.N. troops." This is absurd and completely wrong.

The statement pointed out that the United Nations should adopt earnest measures to drive out the U.S. imperialist aggressors who are occupying South Korea in the name of the United Nations.

CSO: 4005/1064

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### REAGAN FOREIGN POLICY 'NOT REALLY BASED ON REALISM'

Beijing ZHONGGUO FUNU in Chinese No 5, May 82 p 37

[Commentary by Liu Cun [2692 2625]: "Reagan's 'Realism' Is Not at All realistic"]

[Text] U.S. President Reagan said in a speech not long ago that he was determined to base American foreign policy on realism; he admonished the American public to "understand what Soviet imperialism is" and to understand that the Soviet Union is a country which heeds only strength and resolve. Reagan is very explicit about the fact that in dealing with the Soviet Union, one must have competitive strength (and preferably in a superior strategic position). Therefore, Reagan has engaged in a massive military buildup. As soon as he took office, he increased military spending by 13 percent (\$214.2 billion), which is scheduled to increase again by 13.2 percent (258 billion) this year. Meanwhile he has speeded up the development of the Rapid Deployment Force, increased the U.S. military presence in the Middle East and Persian Gulf, and actively prepared for the deployment of a new generation of medium-range missiles in Western Europe starting from the end of 1983.

This indicates that the Reagan administration has indeed displayed some "realism" in dealing with the Soviet Union. It understands that if the United States intends to safeguard its existing interests in the world and to compete with the Soviet Union for hegemony, it must score in military strength and engage in a fierce arms race.

But is the U.S. foreign policy really based on "realism"? From the practice of the past year, apparently the answer is no.

Regarding relations with its West European allies, the Reagan administration once declared that it would accord them full respect, no more condescension. In reality, it has not relinquished its "leadership status" and has frequently indulged in an arbitrary double standard. For example, on behalf of farm owners, Reagan lifted the grain embargo a few months after taking office. We know that the grain embargo against the Soviet Union was imposed by the Carter administration to punish the Soviets for invading Afghanistan. With the Soviet position in Afghanistan unchanged and without consulting the

West European allies, the Reagan administration lifted the embargo. Later, on the Polish issue, however, when some West European allies on the basis of different considerations were unwilling to join the U.S. sanction against the Soviet Union and Poland, the Reagan administration was very critical of them. Unlike in the late 1940's and 1950's, the United States has long lost its "savior" status to Western Europe. Beginning in the late 1970's, whether in GNP or in gold reserves and foreign exchange, Western Europe has surpassed the United States. With that relative shift, a corresponding change is also taking place in their relationship. But the Reagan administration still adheres to the old agenda. How can it be called "realism"?

Regarding the Reagan administration's policy toward the Third World, it is even further removed from realism. To be sure, in meeting the Soviet challenge in various parts of the world, the Reagan administration appreciates the support of Third World nations. But it always attempts to involve Third World nations in the competition for hegemony with the Soviet Union to the extent of interfering in their internal affairs and infringing upon their national interests and sovereignty.

For example, the Reagan administration on the one hand treats Israel as its "trump card" and "pillar" in its Middle Eastern policy, siding with Israeli expansionism at the expense of Arab interests and Palestinian rights; on the other hand it attempts to achieve a "strategic consensus" with the Arab countries to check Soviet influence. How can it be successful?

Moreover, the broad ranks of Third World countries are now faced with the important task of struggling to maintain economic independence by developing their national economies. Regarding North-South economic relations, they desperately want to change the old, irrational international economic order through global discussion and to shake off dependence on developed nations. But the United States, in order to safeguard its vested interest and financial monopoly, ignores the desires of the developing nation and still clings to the old international economic order, obstructing the progress of global discussion. Is there any realism in this area? It not only fails to win the goodwill of the Third World, but also inevitably encounters increasing dissatisfaction and opposition from the Third World.

In Sino-American relations, the United States on the one hand recognizes Taiwan as part of China and the PRC as the only legitimate government of China. On the other hand, the Reagan administration intends to "fully implement" the "Taiwan Relations Act," insisting on selling arms to Taiwan, and is reluctant to give up the "Two China" policy which does great damage to China's sovereignty. Some people in the Reagan administration even believe that China, looking to the United States for help, eventually will have to swallow the bitter pill. Is there any "realism" in this attitude? China has always followed a policy of independence and self-reliance. If back in the 1950's it did not follow the American way, and even in the extreme difficulties of the 1960's it did not give in to the Soviet Union, why should it succumb to U.S. hegemony in the 1980's and seek so-called "protection" from the United States?



Apparently the Reagan administration ignores a most fundamental fact in its policy toward the Third World, that is, the broad ranks of the Third World oppose Soviet hegemonist expansion precisely in order to safeguard world peace as well as their own sovereignty, independence and security. Therefore, is it conceivable that for this goal they would accept the manipulation and control of one superpower or tolerate interference in their internal affairs from another superpower? Hegemonism, no matter where it comes from, will be resolutely opposed by the Third World.

The above facts amply demonstrate that the foreign policy of the Reagan administration is not really based on realism. The Reagan administration should take a hard look at the world trend today, examining its own situation, and truly come to grips with reality. Otherwise, even with a very clear and realistic understanding of the Soviet Union, it cannot solve the basic problems.

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CSO: 4005/907



TEN YEARS OF NORMALIZATION IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS NOTED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 11, 1982 pp 56-58

[Article by Liu Yanzhou [0491 1693 1558]]

[Text] When attending the "North-South Dialogue" summit meeting in Mexico last fall, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki Zenko agreed that, this year, on the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations between the two countries, for the purpose of further developing the good-neighborly and friendly relations, the premiers would exchange visits. Premier Zhao Ziyang already paid a successful official visit to Japan from 31 May to early June this year. Prime Minister Suzuki will come to China in the fall. We firmly believe that, when commemorating the 10th anniversary of the normalization of relations, the mutual visits will promote the common effort of the people of the two countries in building and developing the cooperative relations of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and lasting stability. Under the current fluctuating international situation, it is not only compatible with the common interest of the people of the two nations, but will also produce a far-reaching influence on peace in Asia and the world.

In the decade since normalization, on the basis of the Sino-Japanese joint statement published in 1972 and the peace and friendship treaty signed in 1978, the two countries have built a political relation of peace and friendship and an economic relation of equality and mutual benefit. The two governments successively signed a series of agreements on trade, aviation, ocean shipping, fishery, trade mark protection, cultural exchange, scientific and technical cooperation and migratory bird protection. In February 1978, the two countries signed a long-term trade agreement, valid to 1990. These agreements have promoted the interchange and cooperation in many realms between the two governments and between the two peoples.

Besides unscheduled meetings between the government leaders and the responsible officials of the two countries, consultations between diplomatic authorities and an annual government members' meeting have been scheduled.

On the basis of equality and mutual benefit, mutual trade has developed rapidly. The total volume of trade in 1981 was \$10 billion, which was 9 times greater than the \$1 plus billion in 1971, before normalization. The forms of trade have grown more diversified. Long-term trade, with China's export of petroleum and coal to Japan as the main components, has developed steadily. Cooperation to develop offshore oil and coal has made a propitious start, and the prospect is encouraging

With the activity of economic, technical, cultural and educational and sports interchanges, the contacts between the personnel of the two countries have become more frequent. In the past 2 years, visitors (including tourists) between the two countries numbered 80,000 to 90,000 annually, an increase of almost 10 times compared with before normalization.

In the past decade, Japan's cabinet has changed four times, but all the successive cabinets have upheld and reinforced the policy of neighborliness and friendship. Former Prime Minister Fukuda was instrumental in the Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship. Former Prime Minister (Masayoshi Ohira) visited China in 1979, expressed active support of China's modernization construction, and proposed turning toward the 21st century and exploring new dimensions in Sino-Japanese relations. In China, Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, during their lifetimes, took infinite pains to develop the friendly relations between the two countries. After the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the people of China, on the basis of independence and self-determination and self-reliance, have actively developed foreign economic cooperation and technical interchange, broadening the realm of the Sino-Japanese relations of friendship and cooperation. Therefore, in spite of the fluctuating international situation in the past decade, the storms of the world have not interfered with the development of the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries.

Naturally, certain problems and difficulties also emerged in the course of developing the economic relations between the two countries. As proved by the facts, the problems and difficulties were solved satisfactorily by means of friendly consultations, thereby enhancing mutual understanding and friendship.

According to an ancient Chinese saying, "timeliness is not equal to favorable geographical position; geographical advantage is not equal to human harmony." The development of the long-term stable friendship and cooperation between the two countries possess all the favorable factors of "timeliness, geographical advantage and human harmony." Timeliness is the normalization of relations, the signing of the treaty of peace and friendship and the smooth development of the friendly and cooperative relations. The development of the international situation has also provided the need and feasibility for the enhancement of cooperation. In terms of the favorable geographical position, the two countries are richly endowed by nature. Under the declining Western economy, to maintain its

economic development and out of strategic considerations, Japan needs to acquire energy and resources from all sources, especially from nearby, and expand its market. For the four modernization construction, on the basis of upholding the principle of independence and self-determination and self-reliance, China also needs funds and technical cooperation from abroad. The geographical proximity is the favorable condition for the development of the economic relations between the two countries. In terms of human harmony, the people of both China and Japan, with their age-old traditional friendship, hope to continuously develop their neighborly and friendly relations under the new historical conditions. Though there were historical misfortunes between China and Japan, the Japanese people were also the victims. The common desire for a lasting peace and friendship between the two countries is deeply rooted in the hearts of the 1.1 billion people of China and Japan.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EFFECTS OF POLISH DEBT ON WEST, USSR ANALYZED

#### Reagan Administration View

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 5, 1982 p 7

[Article by Fong Cun [6646 2504]

[Text] Recently there was heated debate within the Reagan administration on how to handle Poland's debt. The upshot was that in early February the U.S. Government paid \$71 million of interest on the loans the Polish Government had made from American banks. Reportedly, last year the U.S. Government paid more than \$300 million on interest for Poland on loans for grain purchases. Altogether it paid more than \$400 million of interest on the Polish debt. Hardliners in the U.S. Government criticized the measure as amounting to financial assistance to relieve the incumbent Polish military government. They demanded that the U.S. Government declare Poland unable to repay the debt (i.e., declare Poland bankrupt), liquidate its overseas assets, stop making loans to Poland and apply greater pressure. But contrary to the actions prescribed, the Reagan administration has paid the interest for the Polish Government. Why? One has to begin with the Polish debt situation.

Since 1971 Poland has employed various means to contract huge loans in order to import technology, industrial equipment, grain and other commodities from the United States, West Germany, France, Britain, Canada and other Western countries. According to statistics, in 1971 its foreign debt to the Western countries amounted to only \$1.1 billion, increasing to \$8 billion in 1975, \$16 billion in 1978, \$23 billion at the end of 1980, and \$27 billion at the end of 1981 (the Polish official figure is \$25.5 billion), of which approximately half was borrowed from private banks in the West. In the past, the Western countries made huge loans to Poland and other Eastern European countries primarily to find markets for their surplus capital, but more importantly to establish closer relations with Eastern Europe so as to expand their influence in this area. Thus the governments of Western countries provided legal guarantees for a number of private bank loans. If the loans were not paid back on time, the government would be held accountable for the interest payment. For example on the \$3.2 billion loan to Poland, the U.S. Government provided a guarantee for \$1.9 billion.

Because of the miscalculation in agricultural policy and the serious indiscriminate importation of foreign capital and technology carried out by

The former Polish Government, newly built plants and equipment yielded no income over a long period of time. At the same time, difficulty was encountered in increasing exports. The external debt rose to a dangerous level (generally speaking, when a country's current debt obligation exceeds 20 percent of its income from foreign trade, it is considered in danger). In 1981, Polish loans due but which it was unable to repay amounted to \$2.4 billion, which increased to \$6.5 billion in 1982. Together with the debt owed to the Soviet Union and East European countries, its foreign debt due in 1982 amounts to \$10 billion.

The Soviet Union has been ambivalent about East European countries' huge debt to the West. On the one hand, it is worried that the developing relations between Eastern countries such as Poland and the West would affect its patriarchal status in the "big family" as well as about the increasing danger of Western infiltration. On the other hand, its economic strength and technological level have not been able to satisfy the demands of the Eastern countries. Bearing the heavy burden of Afghanistan, Cuba and Vietnam, it has had difficulty in making ends meet and has even resorted to borrowing from the West and selling its gold reserves so as to import technology, equipment and agricultural products such as grain, animal feed and meat. When the Polish question emerged, the Soviet Union had to provide it with more foreign exchange, food, fuel and raw material in order to stabilize the situation. Reportedly the Soviet Union has given Poland approximately \$5 billion worth of aid. Recently the Soviet Union again promised to provide \$350 million to pay part of the interest incurred by Polish loans so as to get the consent of the West for deferring the loan payment and continuing to provide new loans. The Soviet Union was unable and unwilling either to leave Poland alone or to pick up the entire burden. Consequently it also sought to use the strength of the West to lessen its burden.

In light of the fact of Poland's inability to repay the loan, what has been the position of the Western countries? While being troubled by the prospect that Poland would be unable to repay the debt and consequently would disrupt the finances in the West, they also want to use the Polish debt issue as a card in the game against the Soviet Union. While intending to exploit this issue by applying influence and pressure on Poland, they also feared that excessive pressure would drive Poland into deeper political and economic crises, and would induce direct Soviet intervention. In the Reagan administration's calculation, first, if the United States declared Poland a country "unable to repay the debt" (i.e., bankrupt), that could relieve Poland of the debt obligation--in fact Poland has no overseas assets to be liquidated--and it would deal a serious blow to banks in Western Europe (which have a larger stake than American banks). Second, it would be detrimental to the interests of the West if Poland should become more dependent on the Soviet Union as a result. After repeatedly weighing the pros and cons, the Reagan administration decided to pay the interest on the debt for the Polish Government, while insisting that Poland repay the debt. It believed that this measure would apply optimal pressure on Poland as well as on the Soviet Union.

On 10 June, the U.S. Congress in a majority vote passed such a measure, which temporarily put an end to the dispute on the Polish debt issue. However, the

Polish debt issue is not solved; it remains a thorny problem for Poland, the Soviet Union and the United States.

#### Soviet Concern

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 7-8

[Article by Chuan Guang [0278 1639]

[Text] The Soviet Union is very disturbed by Poland's political and economic crisis. In addition to political and economic reasons, there are also military and strategic considerations, because Poland is situated on the Soviet's strategic bridge to West Europe. By a look at the following facts, one cannot fail to understand the reasons.

There are eight east-west railroads traversing Polish territory linking the Soviet Union with East Germany which are much more convenient than those via Hungary and Czechoslovakia. There are also some 10 military oil pipelines passing through Poland to East Germany and Czechoslovakia which are crucial for the fuel supply for the Warsaw Pact troops. In addition, among the 220 military airports along the Soviet western front, about half are located in Poland.

The Polish naval port of Swinoujscie is also a Soviet naval base which the Soviet Baltic Fleet could use.

Finally, the fact that all cable communication from the Soviet Union to East Germany and Czechoslovakia passes through Poland is especially significant with respect to the operational base camps that the Soviets have constructed in forests near Gorodno, not far from the Polish-Soviet border.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

CHEN GUODONG FETES NETHERLANDS COMMUNIST--Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee, met with and feted Chairman Hoekstra of the Dutch Communist Party and Madame Hoekstra on the evening of 12 June. The guests and the host had a cordial and friendly conversation. Qian Liren, deputy director of the International Liaison Department of the CCP Central Committee, was present at the meeting and the dinner party. Chairman and Madame Hoekstra arrived in Shanghai on 10 June in the company of Deputy Director Qian Liren. In the past 2 days, they visited the site of the first CCP National Congress, the Shanghai Industrial Exhibition Hall, the (Fengbang) commune in Jiading County, the Shanghai general petrochemical plant and the Shanghai Municipal Workers Palace of Culture. [Text] [OW130749 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Jun 82]

SOVIET-FRENCH SPACE CREW--Moscow, 25 Jun (XINHUA)--The spacecraft Soyuz T-6, with Soviet and French cosmonauts on board, was launched from the Soviet Baykonur Space Center at 2030 Moscow time today. This is the first joint space flight conducted by the Soviet Union with a country of the West. It is believed that Soyuz T-6 will dock on 25 June with the composite orbiting research station [gui dao ke xue yan jiu fu he ti 5610 6670 4430 1331 4282 4496 1788 0678 7555] Salyut-7-Soyuz T-5, which is already in orbit. After the docking, the Soviet and French cosmonauts will carry out a series of scientific, technological, medical and other observations and experiments together with Soviet Cosmonauts Berezovoy and Lebedev who have already worked on board the orbiting station for more than 40 days. The Soviet-French joint space observation is scheduled for 7 days to be concluded on the night of 2 July. Soviet Cosmonaut Dzhaniybekov, commander of Soyuz T-6, twice worked aboard the orbiting station Salyut-6, in 1978 and 1981. Soviet Cosmonaut Ivanchenkov, an engineer, worked for 140 days aboard Salyut-6 from June to November 1978. French Cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien, a researcher, is the deputy commander of France's Southern Air Defense Command. This is his first space flight. The joint space flight by Soviet and French cosmonauts is based on a Soviet-French agreement on cooperation in space research and development. [Text] [OW272040 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1147 GMT 25 Jun 82]

U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA--U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders announced on 21 June that the United States has decided to maintain a trade sanction against Argentina until the Argentine Government takes a "clear-cut stand" towards the Anglo-Argentine cease-fire. The United States announced a trade sanction against Argentina on 30 April. The EEC countries also imposed sanctions against Argentina at the same time. The EEC countries ended their sanctions on 20 June. [Report: "United States Maintains Trade Sanctions Against Argentina"] [Text] [HK230817 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jun 82 p 6]

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WANG RENZHONG SPEAKS ON RECTIFICATION OF PARTY'S WORK STYLE

Changsha XINXIANG PINGLUN [NEW HUNAN COMMENTARY] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 4-9

[Speech by Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850]: "Several Issues on Correcting the Party's Work Style"]

[Text] Editor's note: This article is based on a speech delivered by Comrade Wang Renzhong in Hunan.

Today, I want to discuss only the problem concerning the party's work style, which can be divided into the following two topics:

Our Party's Work Style Needs To Be Correctly Evaluated

At present, there are two unilateral evaluations and two extremely different views with regard to the problem concerning the party's work style. One group of people who takes a gloomy view of our party, and who believes in the existence of a privileged or bureaucratic stratum in the ranks of our party, maintains that the quality of our party has undergone changes to a point of disrepair, and should therefore be replaced by another dynasty. This allegation differs from that of the "gang of four" only in that the capitalist readers have given way to the bureaucratic or privileged stratum. Adherents to this allegation have been spreading counterrevolutionary rumors, contending that the smashing of the "gang of four" means the restoration of the rightists. They are nothing but remnant and residual followers of the "gang of four," counterrevolutionary elements hostile to the Communist Party and socialism in our society, and secret agents and spies hired by Taiwan and the imperialists. Some young comrades are so foolhardy and so naive that they have taken such rumors, slanders, and attacks as truth, and have refused to believe that they are counterrevolutionaries. For this reason, they should undergo Education. Another group of people who has gone to another extreme of persuasion contends that our party's work style is excellent and there is nothing wrong with it, while calling newspaper criticism and the reports by the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline on this matter merely incidents too minor to deserve any attention. But they have failed to see that these "minor incidents in daily life" have reached serious proportions, leading the masses to alienate themselves from our party and to become disenchanted with it. They have caused its prestige to drop. Although such unhealthy tendencies as the search for additional social connections, seeking solution to problems

through backdoor dealings, trying to "transfer someone from agricultural status to nonagricultural status" without official approval, and building private homes without authorization appear too insignificant to deserve any serious concern, their consequences will become serious if they are allowed to spread unchecked. We have seen many comrades contaminated with such social ills and have found a few others guilty of corruption, embezzlement, leading a rotten life, and violating the laws and disrupting discipline to a serious degree. Although these people are a minority within our party, their influence is widespread. This is why we cannot ignore the serious consequence of the problem. What causes such unhealthy tendencies? There were historical factors, some of which date back to the days before the "Great Cultural Revolution." In other words, the prolonged anomalous democratic life within our party, and the serious breakdown of our party's excellent tradition and work style and its organization during the "Great Cultural Revolution" gave rise to such unhealthy tendencies. There are also current factors. Among them are the commodity economy and the circulation of currency that still exist in our socialist society, and the invasion of capitalist ideas from abroad, which have unsurprisingly led people to commit crimes of bribery, corruption, embezzlement, and speculation. Our task is to combat such unhealthy tendencies, to reduce them to the minimum, and to discover and prosecute them promptly. Only in this way can we become strong, enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of people, and lead the people of all nationalities throughout the country to fulfill the great mission during this new historical period.

In addition to noting the gravity of the problem concerning the party's work style and attaching importance to its rectification, we must realize that efforts are being made to improve our party's work style. Although the improvement in this direction is not fundamental, it can be said that it is remarkably noticeable. What commands our greatest attention in this connection is the fact that our party Central Committee is now in good shape. Acting according to the party's principle of democratic centralism, our party Central Committee has succeeded in eliminating that anomalous lifestyle within the party as we have seen in the past. Also noteworthy is the fact that practice has proved our party's line, principles and policies correct. Acting according to the party's guiding ideology, we have brought order out of chaos, and should regard this as an extraordinary victory we have won. In the course of rectifying the party's work style, our primary task is to uphold the four basic principles and to display determination to implement the political line, principles and policies adopted by the party Central Committee. During the past 2 years, in coordination with the party Central Committee, party committees at all other levels have adopted a variety of measures to combat various unhealthy tendencies. Progress has also been made by a large number of units in this field. Of course, what commands our attention at present remains the problem that efforts still need to be made to bring about a fundamental change in our party's work style.

I hope that 1982 will mark a decisive turning point in improving our party's work style and in bringing about fundamental changes in this direction in the years to come.

## What Should Be Done To Correct Unhealthy Tendencies Affecting the Party?

In my opinion, we must concentrate on carrying out the following four tasks:

### 1. It Is Necessary To Strengthen Communist Ideological Education

We must vigorously pay tribute to good personality with communist ideological style and good deeds, and make justice prevail over evil force. We must create a powerful public opinion both inside and outside the party in favor of a campaign to denounce all unhealthy tendencies as if they were rats to be chased by people in the street, and to make the overwhelming majority of cadres and party members models conscious of observing party discipline and state laws. The aim is to foster a favorable climate in which everyone wants to emulate, compete and catch up with the advanced and to help the less advanced catch up with and overtake the advanced. In a speech to a meeting held by the Central-South Bureau of the party in 1964, Comrade Tao Zhu called on our cadres to "seek neither fame nor profits, to fear neither hardship nor death, and to devote themselves to serving the people and the revolution." This passage contains communist ideology, communist morality and communist style essential to Communist Party members. I advise comrades to enter it into your notebooks as a living motto. Since the day our old comrades joined the revolution as youngsters, or teenagers or youths in their twenties, they have carried forward this revolutionary spirit. Comrades, please think that when they joined the revolution, whoever would give any thought as to what official positions they were to hold, what housing units they were to occupy, and how much they were to earn monthly after the revolution triumphed? Shortly after joining the revolution, we were confident that the revolution would triumph, although no one in our midst could predict whether he could live to see this victory. Nor did anyone know when he would lose his life. All of us who have lived to see the revolution triumph must cherish the memory of these revolutionary martyrs and our old comrades-in-arms who died in the line of duty. When we think of them and reflect on ourselves, we may know the answer to the question of what to do. In his speech to the Seventh Party Congress, Chairman Mao said: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have died in the service of the people's interests. This makes those of us still living feel sad whenever we think of them. Is it true that there is really no personal interest we cannot sacrifice and no error we cannot correct?" A reading of this statement today still can inspire our hearts and remains meaningful to our old comrades as a matter of educational value. We must pass on this message from one generation to another.

I regret that at present some old comrades have more or less retreated from what they once believed to be the right ideological style. They are now seemingly more concerned with their personal interests including those of their children than with the interests of our party and people and the destiny of our country and nation. It goes without saying that an old cadre who has to his credit meritorious services to the revolution may deserve preferential treatment from all walks of life. But in bringing up his children, he must ask them to work together with workers and peasants and share weal and woe with them. Only in this way can he give them genuine love, and make them citizens capable of withstanding tests and of being useful to the nation.

Before expecting others to respect him, an old comrade must first display a sense of self-dignity. He should never style himself as a hero or burden others with his past glorious service record. On the contrary, he must use his glorious history and contributions to the revolution as a source of inspiration for making continuous progress, so that he can carry forward the revolutionary tradition and strive for greater glory! Our old cadres must place such strict demands on themselves, and preserve the excellent tradition and work style they displayed during the revolutionary war. They should do everything in their power to serve the interests of the party and the people as long as they live. Old comrades in particular should act as models on behalf of middle-aged and younger cadres. If you think and behave eccentrically, how can you make others listen to you? If you do not behave yourself well, how can you pass along the excellent tradition and help and guide younger cadres through a trial period? You should never regard yourself as a special party member or special citizen no matter how great your contributions to the nation are or how high the position you hold. You should know that all are equal before the constitution of the party and the laws. Recently, the Central Committee emphasized that all old and senior cadres found guilty of violating the laws should be severely punished. Does this sound unfair to them? Not at all. Because old and senior cadres are well-educated, they are required to meet the more rigid and higher standards of conduct. The fact that a few old and senior cadres have been severely punished for seriously violating discipline and the laws does not reflect a discrimination against our old and senior cadres but a love for them. Doing so is very significant in that it will keep their honor and prestige intact.

Comrade Yaobang recently issued an instruction calling on our newspapers, publications, and radio stations to broaden the campaign to pay tribute to good personality and good deeds, and urging our party committees at all levels including basic level organizations to extend strong support to this campaign and to persist in doing so without letup. This point is particularly significant at a time when advanced individuals are being ridiculed, attacked and discriminated against everywhere. We must suppress this form of unhealthy tendency, make justice prevail over evil forces. To this end, mass media, party committees at all levels and leading cadres must be mobilized to give strong and resolute support to advanced individuals and advanced units.

## 2. It Is Necessary To Develop Criticism and Self-Criticism

The experiences and lessons drawn from the history of excessive struggles within the party have deluded some comrades into believing that doing nothing is the best policy, and have led them to show greater interest in cultivating flowers than thorny roses. Their purpose is to present themselves as good old men! Consequently, they have failed to criticize those who should be criticized and punish those who should be punished. Their attitude toward a wrongdoer is one of covering him up, and lobbying on his behalf, rather than standing for principle. This is absolutely not an expression of love for cadres but an approach to ruin them. Not long ago, we published Comrade Chen Yun's speech entitled "It Is Necessary To Tell the Truth Rather Than Save the Face," a speech of practical significance to us. In light of the current situation, we must encourage people to "emphasize principle rather than build

relationships with ulterior motives." At present, a network of relationships with ulterior motives does exist in the ranks of our party and cadres. This network of relationships with ulterior motives comprises associated units and associates. At present, such relationships have become more complicated than ever, namely, relationships between members of the older generation, between old friends and old cadres, and between old superiors and their subordinates. Added to this are ties by marriage of their children which have turned old comrades-in-arms into relatives or "parents of married young couples." This complicated network now covers relatives and friends of the members of the older and younger generations, and has become an objective reality. Our present problem is how to deal with such relationships. Should they be dealt with in accordance with the party's principles or the principles of feudal and capitalist societies? In dealing with such complicated and intertwined human relationships, our party committees and their leading cadres are urged to stand firmly for principle, to do justice to all, and to be fair to all. Under no circumstances should they sacrifice principle under the pretext of promoting the science of public relations. Our party committees in particular must seek truth from facts and should be able to handle all cases with firmness and fair judgment. This emphasis on firmness instead of softness does not mean that the principle of seeking truth from facts can be abandoned, and a cadre can be unfairly criticized and punished. Acting in this manner is not permissible. The sense of true firmness and fair judgment should be based on the principle of seeking truth from facts. There have been attempts to change persons "from agricultural status to nonagricultural status" and to build private homes without authorization. These are serious problems which have resulted in alienating the masses from our party. Such problems should be dealt with firmly and in accordance with the principle. Anyone who has been transferred from the countryside to the city without the approval of an appropriate organization should be returned to the point of his origin without exception, despite the pleas of the cadres who sent him. In this connection, leading cadres should act as models. There are cadres who have built private homes on public land or property and have been found guilty of expanding the use of such public property beyond their real needs. They should be ordered to return such extra portions of public property and should not be allowed to keep it. Cadres who committed mistakes should be criticized and others who committed serious mistakes should be punished. Good cadres should be commended in order to draw a clear distinction between good and bad. At present, efforts must be made to correct a tendency to confuse right with wrong and good with bad.

The Central Committee has emphasized the need for our leading cadres to attend the party's organizational life meetings. Senior cadres should experience organizational life at two different levels. Each year, the standing committee of every party committee must hold two organizational life meetings while its members should attend such meetings sponsored by party branches on a regular basis. At the party's organizational life meetings, participants are urged to pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. This is our party's excellent tradition that cannot be thrown away! Rectification of our party's work style calls for restoring the excellent style of criticism and self-criticism. Those at higher levels should oversee and guide those at lower levels. Party committees at all levels should keep their organizations



in good shape. At present, we are bound to meet difficulties in tackling some problems. As communists and thorough Marxists, we should face problems without fear. Since we have guts to face death without fear in serving the interests of the party and the people, why should we fear being isolated, or losing votes and jobs? As long as we act according to the party's principles, we should have nothing to fear! In Comrade Shaoqi's work "How To Be A Good Communist," there is a passage emphasizing the need to display a daring spirit to tell the truth without fear of being isolated. It is certain that in our struggle against unhealthy tendencies, we can count on the support of the party Central Committee, the overwhelming majority of people and cadres. Standing in the way of this struggle is only a small group of people adhering to unhealthy styles of thinking and work.

In the course of developing criticism and self-criticism, we should draw experiences and lessons from the history of excessive struggles within the party. We must trust that the majority of cadres and party members are good or relatively good; the majority of erring comrades will be able to correct their mistakes after receiving criticism and education. As long as they fall in the category of contradictions among the people, we must consistently adopt a policy aimed at uniting all erring comrades including those who have committed serious mistakes for which the party has taken disciplinary action, but excluding those who are enemies, counterrevolutionaries and turncoats who can no longer be saved through education. Criticism reflects a desire to unite comrades being criticized while punishment is a measure to help them correct their mistakes. The aim is to unite and steer them away from the wrong path and toward the lofty goal. As long as they are truly determined to correct their mistakes, erring comrades still can be assigned to important posts they deserve or positions commensurate with their abilities, as has been the case in the past. No one is allowed to keep nagging them continuously. On the basis of upholding the principle and correcting mistakes, comrades at all levels should be encouraged to support and help each other in a spirit of unity and friendship in order to convert our party into a big family of harmony.

### 3. It Is Necessary To Adopt a Correct Measure for Enforcement of Democratic Centralism

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," democratic centralism suffered serious setbacks. The practice of personality cult should be blamed for making the mistaken "Great Cultural Revolution" continue for 10 years. We must remember this lesson which has cost our party, country and people dearly. We could have avoided many mistakes if the political life within the party were normal, and its members were acting according to the principle of democratic centralism. Under this principle, "the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the Central Committee;" and Central Committee must obey the National Party Congress and strictly carry out its resolutions; no individual or small group of people is allowed to stand above the organization of the party, nor can anyone act against the wishes of the collective leadership of the party committee. This principle is also applicable to every province where the standing committee of the provincial party committee has no

power to change but duty to display determination to carry out all resolutions adopted by its plenary session. If a major amendment to any of these resolutions is deemed necessary, the provincial party committee must call all its members into session so that a new decision can be adopted. Action contrary to this procedure is a violation of the constitution of the party and of party discipline. The four principles contained in democratic centralism also constitute the four main rules of our party discipline. All party members including the chairman of the party Central Committee are equals before the constitution of the party. No one is entitled to any special privilege in this connection.

#### 4. It Is Necessary To Uphold the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts

Seeking truth from facts means skillfully applying the universal truth of Marxism in a way that takes into account the Chinese conditions. In a province, it means skillfully implementing the instructions issued by the Central Committee in conformity with the specific local conditions. The term facts here means matters that exist objectively. To seek means to investigate and study. The term truth means the laws governing the development of objective matters. The objective laws are independent of man's will. Since they exist objectively, the problem is whether we can find the key to their existence. Whether or not we can do so depends on whether we can see things intelligently, and whether our subjective views conform to objective reality. The fact that we have committed mistakes in work largely stems from our failure to adopt principles and policies that conform to objective reality. Although we may find it very difficult to achieve complete agreement between our thoughts and objective reality, we must consider it possible and necessary to achieve general rapport with objective reality. This is why our leading comrades, including party cadres and nonparty cadres, must study the tenets of Marxism so that they can raise their theoretical level of Marxism and increase their comprehensive ability.

Daring to seek truth from facts means daring to uphold the principle rather than acting from the opportunist point of view. Earlier, there was a tendency which convinced the people that only the system of awarding production and labor contracts to individual households deserves to be called the responsibility system or the emancipation of the mind; otherwise, it should be called the ossification of the mind. This is not what the Central Committee really wants. What it really wants is that in the course of developing the responsibility system, we must persist in seeking truth from facts, take the mass line, keep in close touch with the masses, conduct investigations and study, and conform our action with the view of the majority of the masses rather than proceed with our work from the opportunist point of view. Generally speaking, the consensus of the majority is correct. But leadership is still needed in this connection. A forum must be provided for the masses to discuss in detail all existing forms of the responsibility system, various approaches to their implementation, their merits and demerits, what difficulties can be expected in their implementation. If the masses prove that the system of awarding production and labor contracts to individual households is feasible in their specific locality, we must provide them with support and leadership rather than let them go it alone or force them to act



against their will. On the other hand, if the majority of the masses elsewhere oppose the system of awarding production and labor contracts to individual households, we should refrain from forcing it on them. From now on, we must stop blaming and criticizing cadres at lower levels under the pretext of their failure to emancipate their minds and should stop calling them "leftists." We must educate cadres at commune and lower levels in a positive way. The term "left" has been passed along by those at the top. If it is a mistake, examination must begin with those at the top rather than cadres at lower levels. Muddle-headed comrades who need help and education must be allowed to conduct investigations and studies, and meet the masses so that they will understand the ways the masses think and act. In seeking answers to the questions: why has the development of our agricultural production been so sluggish during the past several years? Why did our peasants still live in poverty a few years ago, despite 30 years of efforts in socialist construction and more than 20 years of cooperative efforts in production? They must think it over. These problems were caused mainly by the "leftist" policy. Under this policy, "calling for cutting off the capitalist tail," private plots were confiscated as soon as they were distributed; individuals were allowed to raise only pigs and chickens instead of cattle and sheep; trees planted by commune members as their own property with the consent of authorities concerned were later confiscated as part of public property; peasants were allowed to grow only grain crops and those engaged in the diversified economy were accused of promoting capitalism. This erratic policy infuriated and angered the peasants. At present, they are satisfied with our party's policies and their morale is high. No erratic behavior should be allowed to disrupt this order. We must guide production in light of the current situation so that agriculture can develop and a new socialist countryside can be built. During the past several years, the rapid development of industrial and agricultural production and sideline production in our countryside has resulted in raising the standards of living to the greater satisfaction of the peasants. Should we be contented with what we have done? No, we should not. The reason is that our potential for production has yet to be tapped, and further efforts still can be made to develop agricultural production and to raise the living standards of the peasants. In the past, our task was to feed them adequately. But in the future, our task is to make them well-fed, well-clothed, nicely sheltered, and adequately supplied. It is wrong to emphasize only the need for accumulation of capital and to ignore the need to improve the livelihood of the people as has been the case before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. At present, we must emphasize our concern for the well-being of the masses. As production develops, we must continue to raise the levels of material and cultural life for our people as an objective of our construction program. Of course, the ratio between outlays on improving the livelihood of the people and accumulation of capital must be properly set that we will not eat and drink beyond the limit of our resources. We cannot pay attention only to the people's short-term interests and ignore their long-range interests. Nor can we pay attention only to the local interests of specific departments and units and ignore the national interests as a whole. We must pay equal attention to the interests of the state, the collective and individuals.

Commenting on mass viewpoint and the mass line in the last chapter of his work "On Coalition Government" Chairman Mao said: "The supreme test of words and

deeds of a communist is whether they conform with the highest interests, and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people." What can prove our speeches, course of action and work correct? It all depends on whether they conform with the highest interests of the overwhelming majority of people including their short-term and long-range interests, and whether they can enjoy their support. Using this as a criterion, we can shape our party character and make our party stand known. In this connection, I suggest that comrades restudy the following works by Chairman Mao: "Methods of Work of Party Committees," "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," "Combat Liberalism," and the last chapter of "On Coalition Government," as well as Comrade Shaoqi's works "On the Party" and "How To Be A Good Communist" and Comrade Deng Ziaoping's report on the revision of the constitution of the party to the Eighth Party Congress. These works are worthy of restudy by comrades who have read them before. We must restudy them in conjunction with our work and our methods of work so that an answer can be found to the following question: Is our action consistent with the beliefs stated in these works? We must uphold what is right and rectify what is wrong. I believe that under the leadership of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee, the people throughout the province can certainly make new and greater contributions to our nation's socialist construction program which has been set for this new historical period.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY, LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES DURING 1981 RECOUNTED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 9, 20 Dec 81 pp 2-9

[Article: "Our Cause Has Great Hope"]

[Excerpts] [Editor's Note]: The year is drawing to its end. If we were to sum up the 1981 situation in our country in one sentence, we would say the situation has improved faster than we had expected. This does not imply that all our problems are already behind us. Not at all. We still face many obstacles. But we have won one victory after another in coping with them. If each victory were a keynote, we would have a 1981 march song for the new long march of our 1 billion people. If each victory were a painting, we could use them to form a pleated tableau of the 1981 grandeur of achievements which dot the 9.6 million square kilometers of territory of our fatherland. As we ring out the year 1981 and usher in the year 1982, we ought to present to our readers a symposium of all the exciting events and monumental changes, which no doubt would reinforce our conviction in our efforts to promote our socialist material and cultural well-being and enhance the morale of the Chinese people as a nation.

The editorial department of this periodical invited the domestic news editors of the New China News Agency to a panel to provide a bird's-eye view of the 1981 situation in our country. The following comrades were on the panel: Du Daozheng [2629 1418 2973], Feng Jian [7458 0256], Li Feng [2621 1496], Yan Wu [7051 0710], Zhao Qi [6392 1142], Li Naiyin [2621 5082 0936], Gao Jie [7559 3361], Liu Bang [2692 2735] and Lin Yao [2651 5069]. The following are excerpts of their discussion:

#### Monumental Changes in China

Editor: I would like to ask Comrade Du Daozheng to comment on the 1981 situation in our country and the distinct features of the overall situation.

Du Daozheng: The general trend of the 1981 situation in our country can be seen in two areas, namely, that the economic situation is getting better every year and that the political situation is becoming more stable every year. The distinct

Topics of the overall situation are to bring order out of chaos and to carry forward the revolutionary cause into the future. Speaking at the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Our country and our state are in a crucial historical period devoted to bringing order out of chaos and carrying forward the revolutionary cause into the future. To bring order out of chaos and to carry forward the revolutionary cause into the future means to uproot the negative impact of the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' to carry on the revolutionary cause pioneered by Comrade Mao Zedong and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, and to open up for the Chinese people a bright road to socialism-communism." This is an extremely important statement, which leads to a better understanding of the situation in our country.

In assessing the situation, we must rise above the current stage of development in order to observe and analyze it in the context of historical progression. So the 1981 situation ought to be studied in the light of the situation in our country since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee.

We all know the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee marked a critical turning point where our party entered a stage of socialist modernization. The historical achievements of the Third Plenum are the affirmation of the Marxist ideological, political and organizational line as the guiding ideology of our party, an all-out drive to rectify years of "leftist" errors, and the formulation of strategic policy to switch the work priority of the whole party and the whole country to socialist modernization. Frankly speaking, our party should have directed its efforts toward modernization long ago. Being a big country with a backward economy without any precedent of socialist construction to fall back on, we are left to our own resources to work a way out. After the founding of the PRC, we did try to get on our own road of Marxist experiments. However, due to the emergence of "leftist" deviations in our guiding ideology, especially the devastating errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution," our party has not only failed to switch its work priorities but also sustained severe setbacks in its socialist endeavor. The opportunity to bring order out of chaos after the downfall of the "gang of four" was again lost due to two more years of "leftist" errors. It was only after the Third Plenum that dramatic changes began to develop at the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. This was followed by the 4th and 5th Plenums of the 11th Central Party Committee, which adopted and put into effect important and vital important policy decisions. Then the 11th Central Party Committee held its 6th Plenum last June. The history of this particular period indicates very clearly that the focus of all these dramatic changes in our country between the 3rd and 6th Plenums of the 11th Central Party Committee was the rectification of years of "leftist" errors in our party's guiding ideology and the implementation of socialist modernizations based on the actual conditions in China and the new historical setting.

As the history of contemporary China marches on, the situation of all these years indicates a marked turning point replete with promise for the future development of our party and our country.

Editor: I agree with Comrade Du Daozhong that we ought to study the situation of the year in the light of the historical developments since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said to foreign visitors on more than one occasion since the beginning of the year that our cause looks very promising. When he received Baper Hatelin [phonetic], chief of UN Refugee Affairs, and his wife on 2 September, Comrade Deng Xiaoping told them that we had made substantial progress in three particular areas since the downfall of the "gang of four": 1) the establishment of political stability and unity; 2) the formulation of effective policies for industry, agriculture, finance and trade; and 3) the upsurge of the productive zeal of the people motivated by correct policies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out that since the 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee, we have been pushing for the four modernizations, which are designed to make our country and its people prosperous. Our task is arduous but our cause is full of hope. A review of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's statements would help us understand the current situation and look forward to the future.

Feng Jian: The 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee which met last June was a great event of the year, a milestone of the work of our party and state in carrying forward the revolutionary cause into the future.

The "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenum is an important historical document with far-reaching implications. Our party won a great victory during the period of the democratic revolution on the strength of a summation of its historical experience. An accurate summation of the historical experience since the founding of the PRC likewise would lead to a new victory in our socialist construction.

The reorganization of the leadership of the Central Committee worked out by the 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee represents a strategic decision to enable our party to carry forward the revolutionary cause into the future. This problem had been under consideration by the Party Central Committee not long after the Third Plenum. Having gone through careful and sustained deliberations, Comrades Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun finally proposed establishing a Secretariat for the Central Committee. The proposal was adopted by the 5th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee which met in February 1980, and Comrade Hu Yaobang was elected the secretary general. The third session of the Fifth National People's Congress which met in September 1980 accepted the proposal of the CCP Central Committee and named Comrade Zhao Xiyang premier of the State Council. Then the Central Committee Politburo, after sustained consideration, proposed to the 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee a number of changes in the Central Committee. These important measures represent the far-sightedness and dedication of the party's senior leaders in the selection of successors to the leadership of the Central Committee, a monumental contribution to the party and the state.

It has become very clear in the more than 5 months since the Sixth Plenum that the personnel of the leadership of the Central Committee named by the Sixth Plenum was correct and wise. With forceful leadership, the Party Central Committee has already done a great deal to insure the implementation of the line, programs and policies formulated at and since the Third Plenum, including the four modernizations.

(The discussions became more lively at this point.)

Du Daozheng: Today the Party Central Committee is trusted by the public. According to reports filed by the NCNA reporters at various localities, the broad masses of cadres and people are extremely pleased with the reorganization of the Party Central Committee, which has become strong enough to reinforce their faith in the future.

Li Feng: Today, the Party Central Committee is a collective leadership united to fight for Marxism. It is no longer possible for a single individual to decide the policy of the party, nor could any single individual act on any important matters by a stroke of his pen. The leading cadres of the Central Committee are working to reactivate the party's excellent workstyle dedicated to coordinate theory and practice, to keep in touch with the masses, and to carry out criticism and self-criticism. The political life of the Party Central Committee is at its best since the Yanan rectification campaign. As we have said, we are not aware of anyone who could match Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou in personal ability. However, since the Party Central Committee has become a unified collective entity which evolved out of the correct summation of our historical experience, it is able, as attested by what has happened since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee, to lead the people of the whole country to new victories. This is what accounts for the prestige of the party among the people of the various nationalities who are convinced that the leadership of the party is strong enough to bring about the realization of our socialist modernizations.

Editor: The articles on "Important Events in Zhongnan Hai" published by LIAOWANG have aroused the interest of the reading public both in China and abroad. Many readers have written to our editorial department, asking for more information on the work of the leading comrades of the Central Committee.

Du Daozheng: Comrades Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and other leading comrades of the Central Committee are all very modest and hardworking, and do not approve of personal publicity. The day Hu Yaobang returned to the Central Committee Secretariat after the adjournment of the Sixth Plenum, he telephoned the responsible comrades of the Propaganda Department, asking them to meet him in Zhongnan Hai. The first thing he said to them upon their arrival was that they must not repeat the mistake of personality cult, nor promote personal cult.

Li Feng: We must take this painful lesson of history as a warning and resolutely do away with the practice of personality cult. However, as the situation develops, we would have to distinguish truthful reports on the role of the leaders of the party and the authority of the collective leadership of the Central Committee from personality cult. For a country like ours trying to make a billion people work wholeheartedly and harmoniously for the four modernizations, it is necessary for the party, the state and the nation to have leaders respected by the masses to lead the party, the army and the people of the whole country.



Editor: That was well put by Comrade Li Feng. The instructions for cutting down propaganda on personalities issued by the Central Committee are correct, even though truthful reports on the collective leadership and leaders of the Central Committee are still needed. We ought to tell the people of the whole country in our review of the 1981 situation in our country that what has been achieved can not be separated from the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee.

Feng Jian: That is actually the case. Since the Sixth Plenum, the Party Central Committee has been working effectively for the party and the people, striving to achieve healthier political, economic and cultural development of the country. In his closing address at the Sixth Plenum, Comrade Hu Yaobang raised a question: What are our priorities? He asked everybody to keep in mind a statement in the bulletin of the Plenum: "This meeting will go down in history as one which has accomplished the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology of the party." He said that both the leadership and the guiding ideology should focus on how to improve the national economy and how to bring about more effectively our socialist cultural well-being. Since the 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee and led by the Party Central Committee, the people of the whole country have begun to direct their efforts toward socialist modernization and the development of the socialist culture.

Editor: The Sixth Plenum is a milestone. If we say that the top priority prior to the Sixth Plenum was to bring order out of chaos, then the top priority after the Sixth Plenum is to proceed toward better socialist material and cultural well-being. I wonder if that is an accurate assessment of the situation.

Feng Jian: I think we could say that.

#### The Only Source of Our Strength

Editor: The essential prerequisites of socialist modernization are political stability and unity on the one hand and healthy party workstyle on the other. What has happened in these areas during the year?

Zhao Qi: The year 1981 has been a year of increasing stability and unity, and also a year of the revival and enhancement of the best party workstyle.

The problem of the party workstyle is really a problem concerning the relations between the party and the masses. We all know the workstyle of the party was severely damaged by the "gang of four." In recent years the masses have begun to have high hopes for the four modernizations initiated by our party, but they still resent the unhealthy workstyle within our party. After years of hard work, our party's workstyle has improved considerably. However, we must admit it has not yet taken a complete turn for the better. That is why Comrade Chen Yun pointed out at the beginning of the year that the workstyle of a party in power is a matter of its life and death. Since then, the Party Central Committee has been enforcing strict party discipline in accordance with the "established standards." Within a year the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline has issued 12 circulars and notices to the whole party, calling for unrelenting struggle against those



activities which violate the law and discipline, including the cultivation of personal connections, gaining advantages through secret pulls, and malpractices for selfish ends. At the same time, the Party Central Committee called upon the cadres at all levels to set good examples. This might be illustrated by the following instances:

(At this point, everybody cut in to offer lively instances.)

--In early September, the leading cadres of the Secretariat and departments of the Central Committee revived the system of weekend sanitation work by cadres. Since then, Comrade Hu Yaobang and other leading cadres of the Central Committee have participated in the work almost every weekend.

--Leaving Liaoning for Beijing on 4 November after an inspection tour, Comrade Hu Yaobang stopped at Tangshan to visit with the staff and workers of the Second Construction Company of Handan City which had been helping rebuild Tangshan. Posing for a picture with the model workers and progressive producers of the company, he sat at the end instead of the middle of the front row. Commenting on this incident, a Hong Kong newspaper said: "A leader sitting in a less conspicuous seat for a picture with the masses is no big deal, but it presents a striking contrast to the past."

--Returning on 19 August from his visit to three Southeast Asian countries, Premier Zhao Ziyang flew from Guangzhou to Beijing by commercial plane instead of a special plane. This won the acclaim both at home and abroad.

--Wen Minsheng, minister of posts and telecommunications, personally stood in line for a long distance call to study the problems facing the customers and to listen to the comments of the masses.

--Peng Deqing, minister of communications, travelled by vehicle and on foot across the Gobi Desert to scale the snow-capped Bindaban where the air is thin, covering over 500 kilometers along the Tianshan Highway to inspect highway construction and to study on the spot ways to improve highway construction.

--Li Peng, minister of the electric power industry, went to the threatened hydro-electric power station at Longyangxia to direct rescue operations along a flooded highway at the foot of the station.

--Li Dengying, governor of Gansu Province, at 1:00 am on 12 September, rushed to Liujiaxia to direct rescue operations at the flooding reservoir.

--On 9 September, Zhang Jingfu, first secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, and Zhou Zijian, the provincial governor, left in an early morning drizzle by provincial government passenger van for Feidong Xian where they inspected the Changling Cotton Mill and resolved its stubborn problems.

--Bai Dongcai, secretary of the Standing Committee, Jiangsi Provincial Party Committee and provincial governor, personally visited vegetable production teams and marketing units, and recommended practical measures to resolve their vegetable problems.

--During the year when Wang Chonglun, vice president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, was the deputy secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, he visited 312 private homes, including the homes of bean curd makers, barbers, pedicurists, sanitation workers, shop clerks, peasants, teachers and government employees.

--23 August was a market day for the peasants of Xiuyan Xian, Liaoning. In the midst of the hustle and bustle within the town of Xiuyan, there was a husky "traffic officer" at its east gate traffic post, gesturing and yelling at people: "Please observe the traffic regulations and refrain from passing and rushing." The people finally found out he was Comrade He Chongzhuang, the magistrate....

Zhao Qi: These lively incidents point up the fact that our excellent traditions are being reactivated and brought into play and that our party is capable of keeping up its healthy workstyle to lead the people to work wholeheartedly for the four modernizations.

Editor: What have we done during the year to strengthen the democratic system?

Zhao Qi: This has been a year of vigorous political activities in our country. The system of the people's congress has become increasingly important in the life of the state. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress has met five times this year and passed many important resolutions. When we went over the data in the reference room of our editorial department, we discovered that the number of news items on the 5 sessions of the Standing Committee this year practically equaled those on its 16 sessions in the previous 3 years. This shows the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress is getting more actively involved in the political, economic, cultural, diplomatic and military affairs of the state, and has a much wider range of problems to handle. A review of the data also reveals the role of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in several areas of state administration, including, first, more and more economic legislation; second, greater emphasis on the socialist cultural well-being; and third, improvement of the socialist legal system. At the same time, the standing committees of the people's congresses of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have become more active, too.

#### The Irresistible Movement for the Return of Taiwan to the Fatherland

Editor: A major event in the 1981 chronicle of Chinese history is no doubt the "9-point" proposal for the return of Taiwan to the fatherland in the interest of national unification.

Zhao Qi: That is true. Judging by the support and attention it has received from the people of our country and from the media and political circles abroad, the "9-point" proposal has proved popular. Our compatriots overseas have responded very favorably and expressed in different ways their cherished wish to bring to an end as soon as possible the state of division across the Taiwan Strait. This historical tide in support of the unification of the fatherland is irresistible.

But the movement is still in its formative stage and the road ahead is tortuous. It takes time for people to see the issue involved, but it may come to pass sooner than expected. We need not pay undue attention to the reactions of the Taiwan authorities.

Some people abroad were surprised by our party's "magnanimity" and "sincerity." Even the people in China were emotionally unprepared for the proposal.

Editor: The essence of all these is "selflessness." The communists are the most patriotic people. Instead of pursuing personal ends, our party works only for the basic interests of the country and the people. That is why our party could afford to take a broad and long-range view and act magnanimously.

Zhao Qi: Judging by the initial response, except for some distorted propaganda carried by some biased newspapers and publications, the worldwide reaction as a whole has been favorable. To some, this is "a wise and most judicious statement," some regard it as "enlightened and generous," while others say that the "nine points" are "extremely courageous" and tolerant. Even high level American officials think the "nine points" are positive and realistic.

However, there are a few Americans who still favor a two-China policy and insist on selling arms to Taiwan. The American government officials have indicated that the United States should have no part in the peaceful unification of China which is exclusively a problem of the Chinese. That is an applaudable approach. If the United States were to continue its sale of arms to Taiwan, that would be an infringement on the sovereign rights of China and obstruction of the progress of her peaceful unification.

#### A Crucial Step

Editor: The most important part of our party's work to bring order out of chaos since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee has been to weed out "leftist" guiding ideology from our economy and lead the national economy to a course of development which befits the conditions in our country and helps it to develop orderly, realistically and steadfastly. It might be said that we have taken that crucial step in 1981.

Feng Jian: The 1981 economic achievements of our country were attributable to the program worked out by the Central Committee work conference which met at the end of 1980. This is a point worth keeping in mind. Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Zhao Ziyang and Li Xiannian each delivered an important speech at the conference. It analyzed and summed up the leftist ideological errors in our economic work on the one hand and reached a vital decision to bring about economic readjustment and political stability on the other, a policy responsible for the success of our economic readjustment in 1981. The most spectacular achievement was the reduction of our budgetary deficit from 17 billion yuan in 1979 to 12.7 billion yuan in 1980 and then down to 2.7 billion yuan in 1981, a basically balanced budget as it was announced to the whole country last February. We might say last year's work conference of the Central Committee paved the way for steady growth of our economy.

The planned economy of a big socialist state like ours depends largely on its macroeconomic policy, a policy affecting the national economy as a whole. Our past economic failures were due, no doubt, to erroneous macroeconomic policies. By the same token, the economic achievement of this year was made possible by the wise macroeconomic policy of the Party Central Committee. We may therefore conclude that our economic readjustment has been realistic and healthy. If we could implement this program unrelentingly, we would see more and more improvements every year.

Editor: I should like to ask Comrade Yan Wu to tell us what our armed forces achieved during the year.

Yan Wu: In 1981, the Chinese People's Liberation Army achieved marked improvement both militarily and politically, edging closer to a modernized national defense force.

There was encouraging news from the several armed services, including the biggest combined ground and air maneuver in north China ever held since the founding of the PRC, a sophisticated combined combat operation--a step closer to modernization; a new breakthrough in our guided missile technology; the safe return of our first submarine after weeks of a submerged journey; a successful experiment by the navy with the most difficult technology, "cross feeding"--a "transfusion line" for vessels far away from their base; and increased number of Class A air force wings, the mainstay of our combat air force, many times more than what we had 10 years ago....

Even more significant is that all the officers and men worked harmoniously during the year to study the resolution of the 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee and pledged to safeguard and support the four modernizations. They demonstrated their resolve in the reduction of military expenditures, in their support of the four modernizations and in the triumphant defense of the Sino-Vietnamese borders, as well as in their support of the government, their concern for the people, and their backing of local economic construction. The "seeds" sown by the broad masses of officers and men in constructing the socialist culture have produced a far-reaching effect on the masses. The enlisted men on duty at the special district of Shum Chun have been so well disciplined and helpful that they are called "the best troops of the world" by foreign visitors. According to incomplete statistics, a total of 70,000 people from the Lanzhou, Shenyang and Fuzhou units of the armed forces turned out at various times to fight this year's record flood, rescuing 115,000 flood victims and delivering over 4,200 tons of supplies.

Editor: Today, we witness once again the working of the flesh-and-blood relationship between the army and the people which existed during the war of liberation.

Yan Wu: As pointed out by a responsible comrade of the Party Central Committee at its last Plenum, the army scored new successes during the year. Following closely the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the army has responded

affirmatively to the rally of the Party Central Committee. The spectacular progress achieved by the army in the past few years has contributed to better combat morale. Like people used to say, the party and the people can rest as long as the Liberation Army is intact.

#### Painstaking Ideological Guidance Provided by the Party

Li Naiying: The main trend at the ideological-cultural front was gratifying in the past year. Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee, those comrades at the ideological-cultural front have served the party well in helping it accomplish its historical task of bringing order out of chaos. That is why the Party Central Committee has reaffirmed this main trend time and again. However, there are also negative unhealthy trends at our party's ideological-cultural front. The fact that some publications last April began to criticize "Kulian" is indicative of the situation. As Comrade Hu Yaobang said, "Kulian" is not an isolated incident. There are other erroneous and even worse works besides "Kulian" which prefer liberalism to the socialist road and the leadership of the party. These erroneous trends must be severely criticized and should not be allowed to spread unchecked. So the forum on ideological-cultural problems of our country convened by the Party Central Committee was as timely as it was necessary.

Editor: It is regrettable that this forum, designed to correct the erroneous trends, proved rather controversial at first.

Li Naiying: The forum to criticize "Kulian" was the center of a storm for a time because it had stirred up debates at home and abroad, due mostly to well-meaning concern or misunderstanding, although there were instances of malicious incitements and rumor mongering. For instance, some Hong Kong newspapers and publications have gone so far as to say: "The springtime is gone all of a sudden," implying that the springtime of our literature and art had arrived and left suddenly.

The lack of consensus was found in the cultural circles and among both cadres and the masses. As for the Party Central Committee, its policy has been to oppose the "leftist" ideology on the one hand and to reject bourgeois liberalism on the other.

Du Daozheng: Some comrades believe the proposal to resist the bourgeois liberal trend would signal a change of policy by the Party Central Committee. That is a misunderstanding. Some comrades feel concerned that the criticism and self-criticism might lead the party to resort once again to brutal persecutions and stifle the flourishing development at the cultural front. The concern is understandable. But the excessive concern and worry would invite disturbances instead of safeguarding ideological development and preserving the healthy situation at the cultural front. Comrade Hu Yaobang gave a brilliant analysis of the problem at the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun. Since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Party Committee, the Party Central Committee has actually been working conscientiously to lead the whole party to oppose the erroneous trends. It must be noted that having correctly summed up both the negative and positive experience of its past struggles against erroneous trends, the party is well prepared to repel any obstructions as it launches a healthy drive to practice criticism and self-criticism.



Li Naiying: The situation has been healthy since the forum on the problems at the ideological front.

#### The Whole Nation Absorbed in Learning

Li Naiying: Like the situation at the political-economic front, the situation at the cultural-educational front has been gratifying. We had reports of "record" achievements in the cultural-educational field this year. Since the founding of the PRC, this has been a year of a record number of college, middle school and technical school graduates; a year of a record number of publications for the popularization of science (over 180 different publications); and the first year to grant doctorates and master degrees. These are pioneer undertakings in the history of the educational and scientific development of new China.... I wish to take up two specific matters which impressed me the most.

First of all, the whole nation is eager to learn. This is what makes our country and our people hopeful. Now, there are over 200 million college, middle school and primary school students in China. That means one out of every five persons is a student. How many more are doing sparetime study by radio, telephone and correspondence courses and in evening schools? Some place the figure at 20 million, while others would double the figure. The secretaries of the Party Central Committee who are 60 or 70 years old also attend scheduled lectures given by scientists in Zhongnan Hai. There are more and more young people who go all out to study on their own for the sake of the country. This reflects a new social trend toward assiduous study to make China strong, a reservoir of our national vitality in a new historical era.

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CSO: 4005/561

PARTY AND STATE

## PROVINCIAL COMMENTARY ON INTELLECTUALS

### Anhui's Zhou Zijian

OW140321 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Jun 82

[Excerpts] The Anhui Provincial CCP Committee called a forum of intellectuals on 12 June to listen to the opinions and demands of intellectuals from provincial departments and bureaus and scientific and medical units. Present at the forum were Zhou Zijian, Yan Youmin, Su Yu, Yuan Zhen and (Shi Zongjie) and responsible comrades of other departments concerned.

Also attending were 14 representatives of intellectuals who are senior engineers, chief engineers, associate professors, assistant chief editors, engineers and agronomists. They said in their speeches: The convening of the intellectuals forum by the provincial CCP committee shows the party's concern for and trust of intellectuals. The party's policy toward intellectuals has been implemented earnestly since the party's third plenary session. A number of intellectuals have joined the CCP and many others have assumed leading positions at all levels. In their speeches they also described problems in intellectual work existing in their own units and put forth suggestions and demands for improving work.

During the forum, attentively to speeches by eight intellectuals, Zhou Zijian, the first deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, spoke. He said: We should institute a system and call meetings regularly in order to listen to the opinions of intellectuals. The party committees should make friends with intellectuals, and exchange frank and sincere views with them about problems. We must share weal and woe with them, be frank and sincere, and continue to carry out the socialist cause. Zhou Zijian said: It has been the party's consistent policy to attach importance to the role of the intellectuals and we should continue to put the role of intellectuals into full play.

### Jilin Leaders Implement Policy

96100419 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] According to our sources, in recent inspections of work dealing with problems existing among intellectuals, leading comrades of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial people's government and responsible comrades from various departments, commissions, offices and bureaus under the



provincial organs and from various municipalities, prefectures and counties have visited over 1,550 intellectuals.

Through personal contact, they have uncovered many practical problems and have taken personal charge of solving some of them. Thus, the broad masses of intellectuals have further felt the warmth and concern shown by the party.

Joining the visiting activities were leading comrades including Song Jiehan, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and Li Shuren and Liu Yunzhao, deputy governors of the province. Song Jiehan and Li Shuren separately visited the home of (Li Ruihang), professor of Jilin Provincial University, to find out his living conditions. (Zhao Xiang), secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and (Li Dingjiang), deputy governor of the province, together with responsible comrades from the Provincial Economic and Scientific and Technological Commissions, visited the Changchun Cementation Institute to hold a forum with its experts. Three deputy directors of the provincial cultural bureau dealt with 31 practical problems on the spot during their inspection tours.

Comrade (Jin Chengyu), deputy secretary of the Yanbian Autonomous Prefectural CCP Committee, visited intellectuals who work at the Timber Research Institute located on a mountain slope. During his visit, he immediately decided to sink a well for improving their potable water shortage, to buy a shuttle car for their children to attend schools and to appropriate funds for their house repair.

Following the inspection tours, Siping Municipality sponsored a joint meeting with the participation of 23 units, at which 25 practical problems were handled.

Inspection work throughout the province is being vigorously carried out in a thorough manner. The party committees at all levels are actively dealing with practical problems and difficulties existing among intellectuals across the province.

#### Jilin Intellectuals

Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 30 Jun 82 SK

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, 8,375 intellectuals on various fronts in Jilin Province have joined the Chinese Communist Party. Most of them are middle-aged intellectuals. After the 10-year internal disorder, they have more unswervingly followed the party's lines, principles and policies laid down at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and finally have had their long-cherished wish realized thanks to the implementation of the party's policy on intellectuals.

CSO: 4005/989

## PARTY AND STATE

### ZHEJIANG CPPCC SESSION TO BE HELD 14 JUNE

0W090403 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 8 Jun 82

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Fourth Zhejiang Provincial CPPCC Committee held its 19th meeting on the morning of 8 June. The meeting decided to convene the fourth session of the Fourth Zhejiang Provincial CPPCC Committee in Hangzhou on 14 June.

Chairman Mao Qihua of the provincial CPPCC committee presided over and addressed the meeting. The meeting discussed and adopted in principle a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the fourth provincial CPPCC committee and designated a person to deliver the report. It adopted the agenda for the forthcoming session and approved the namelist of the motions examination committee and the namelist of persons who will attend the forthcoming session as observers. It also discussed and approved the namelist of additional members of the provincial CPPCC committee.

The fourth session of the Fourth Zhejiang Provincial CPPCC Committee will hear and discuss a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the provincial CPPCC committee and study and discuss the draft revised Constitution of the PRC. Those attending the session will attend the fourth session of the Fifth Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress as observers.

The forthcoming session of the provincial CPPCC committee will discuss and adopt resolutions and elect additional members to the Standing Committee of the provincial CPPCC committee and discuss and decide on other matters.

He Kexi, Zhang Renzhi, Cai Bao, Wu Youxin, Wang Jiwu, Jiang Ximing, Cui Dongbo, Peng Ruilin and He Zhibin, vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/990

PARTY AND STATE

JILIN MEETING MARKS MAO'S MILITIA INSTRUCTION ANNIVERSARY

SK180227 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Text] According to our sources, this morning, the People's Armed Forces committees under the Jilin Provincial and Changchun Municipal CCP Committees, the provincial Military District and the Changchun Municipal Military Sub-district sponsored a report meeting to mark the 20th anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions on putting the People's Militia work on a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily.

At the meeting, Comrade He Youfa, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, chairman of the People's Armed Forces Committee under the provincial CCP committee and commander of the provincial Military District, delivered a report on dwelling upon the significance of Comrade Mao Zedong's militia instructions. In his report, Comrade He Youfa urged the party committees and the People's Armed Forces departments at all levels throughout the province to vigorously build up militia forces in line with the program of creating material and spiritual civilizations and to organize the broad masses of militiamen to participate in the party's central work so that militia forces are able to fully play their leading role in building the two civilizations. Strenuous efforts should be made to undertake the activity of commending advanced units and individuals who have emerged in putting militia work on a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily and building a spiritual civilization. It is necessary to arouse militiamen to closely cooperate with public security departments in successfully maintaining social order, to actively participate in the struggle against economic crimes and to thoroughly conduct education on combating the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology. It is also necessary to vigorously grasp military training, do a good job in implementing various measures for getting well prepared for war and exert all-out efforts to upgrade to a new level the program of putting provincial militia work on a solid basis organizationally, politically and militarily.

CSO: 4005/990

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING REPORTS IMPROVEMENTS IN PUBLIC SECURITY

SK200508 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] Public security showed continued improvement in the first 5 months of this year. Social order in both urban and rural areas was further stabilized. Cases involving public security in most urban areas dropped as compared with last year and the number of criminal cases declined somewhat. A few areas and departments notorious for rather frequent public security-related problems had an improved public security situation. A number of advanced neighborhoods and enterprises which have been free of crime have emerged in almost every city in the province. Public security in problematic public places such as downtown areas, parks, transit stations and docks also improved markedly.

Following vigorous consolidation, incidences of reselling goods at a profit, impeding public traffic, hooliganism and swindling, which pose a threat to social order, have dwindled noticeably in the area outside of Shenyang gate. The public security situation has taken on a new appearance.

The vast rural areas in the province have vigorously checked gambling, superstition and thievery since April, putting an end to the state of unsatisfactory public security in some areas. The Jinzhou area, which has a notorious reputation for frequent criminal cases, witnessed in the first 4 months of this year a one-third decrease in the number of criminal cases as compared with the corresponding 1981 period. The 12 problematic areas along railways and suburban areas of major urban centers in the province, where the situations are complicated and crimes are frequently reported, have also achieved initial achievements after 6 months of hard work.

CSO: 4005/990

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEILONGJIANG CALLS FOR UPHOLDING COMMUNIST PURITY

SK260924 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Excerpt] On the afternoon of 24 June, Zhao Dezun, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, stated at the consolidation work conference sponsored by the provincial CCP committee that, while conducting the struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic field, we should conduct education to combat corrosive influences, concentrate our efforts on improving party members' and cadres' ideological awareness and conscientiously correct all unhealthy trends so as to achieve a decisive turn for the better in party workstyle.

In his speech, Comrade Zhao Dezun reviewed our achievements in the struggle against criminal activities in the economic field in the past 5 months and pointed out existing problems. He urged all localities to conduct open trials on several typical cases in July or August and strive to finish by the end of this year all cases registered in the first half of the year, leaving none unresolved.

In his speech, Comrade Zhao Dezun stressed that Communist Party members and state personnel should conduct the struggle for communist purity and against corruption and degeneration in dealing blows at serious criminal activities in the economic field. The tasks of this struggle are to educate the broad numbers of party members, cadres and masses as well as to investigate big, serious cases. We should integrate these two tasks and conduct education all the way through the struggle in order to heighten the awareness of party members and cadres and enable them to insist on the proletarian ideology and stand, to oppose the capitalist ideology and behavior, to enhance the ability to combat corruption and degeneration and to uphold communist purity.

CSU: 4 05/990

## PARTY AND STATE

### ZHEJIANG MARKS WHAMPOA MILITARY ACADEMY FOUNDING

OW111028 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] On the eve of the 58th anniversary of the founding of the Whampoa Military Academy, the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang held a get-together for academy alumni in Hangzhou today at the CPPCC auditorium. The participants of the get-together reminisced over Dr Sun Yat-sen's purpose in founding the academy, recalled how the Kuomintang and the CCP had twice cooperated, and reviewed some historical facts during the east and north expeditions and the war of resistance against Japan. They called on all alumni on the mainland, in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and abroad to work hard with one heart and one mind on the basis of the motto of the academy, and make contributions to fulfilling Dr Sun Yat-sen's behest to bring about prosperity in China and to accomplishing the great cause of national reunification.

Various participants delivered speeches at the get-together. (Zhao Xingge), a graduate of the fourth graduating class of the academy who had participated in the east and north expeditions, and (Lin Yingdong), a graduate of the fifth graduating class, described how the Kuomintang and the CCP members fought shoulder to shoulder during the east and north expeditions and how the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP had won acclaim from among the people. (He Pingru), a graduate of the 10th graduating class, who had participated in the Shanghai campaign, described how his troops fought during the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CCP. They hoped that the Taiwan authorities would actively respond to Chairman Ye Jianying's nine-point proposal and that the Whampoa alumni in Taiwan would come to the mainland to visit the West Lake whenever such an opportunity arose. In their speeches, alumni (Yang Jian), (Hu Jiali) and (Xia Jianren) dwelled upon the current favorable situation for the peaceful reunification of the motherland. They hoped that all the Whampoa alumni would make contributions to the great cause of national reunification.

At the beginning of the get-together, (Liu Jingci), vice chairman of the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang and a graduate of the sixth graduating class of the academy delivered a speech. Also speaking at the get-together were Tang Yuanbing, vice governor of Zhejiang; (Zhou Fei), deputy secretary general of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress; He Kexi, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; (Cui Chengxia), deputy director of the United Front Work Department under the provincial CCP committee; and He Zhibin, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee and chairman of the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BAN YUE TAN' REPORTS ON NEW CHARACTERISTICS OF DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 10, 1982 pp 21-23

[Article by Shang Zhi [1424 1807]]

[Text] Reading the draft revision of the constitution published by the standing committee of the National People's Congress has been most exciting. The draft continues and develops the strong points of the 1954 constitution, profoundly summarizes the empirical lessons of the 3 decades since the founding of the nation, manifests the party's lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, conforms to China's national conditions and reflects the will of the people.

I find many new characteristics in the draft revision of the constitution. The main ones are:

1. It fully embodies the spirit of the four basic principles and clearly stipulates the direction and path of the development of China's society.

The four basic principles are the epitome of the basic experiences of China's modern history and the truth which has been tested by practice, and reflect the law of China's historical development. The introduction to the draft states: "The people of China will, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, continue to uphold the people's democratic dictatorship and follow the socialist path." Thus, the four basic principles are affirmed in form of law, and the significance is extremely crucial.

2. Article 1 of the general program of the draft provides: China is "a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the worker class and founded on the worker-peasant alliance." Thus, the nature of our state and the positions of the various classes therein are defined and our state system clearly established.



In China, the exploiting class as a class has vanished. However, due to domestic factors and international influence, the class struggle, within a certain sphere, will remain with us for a long time. Therefore, the people's democratic dictatorship is completely necessary.

In the 10-year civil strife, the "gang of four" distorted and abused the slogan of the proletarian dictatorship, devastated the worker-peasant alliance, disrupted the relations between the worker class and other socialist laborers, and brought disasters to the state and the people. Therefore, the introduction to the draft points out that the people's democratic dictatorship is the proletarian dictatorship. In other words, the people's democratic dictatorship is a concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship. While precisely reflecting China's national conditions and class situation, the provision will also forestall any distortion and abuse of the proletarian dictatorship.

In China, the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals has become a part of the worker class, and is included in the worker-peasant alliance. Therefore, the intellectuals are no longer listed separately in class relations.

3. The socialist democracy is more fully embodied in the draft, thereby enlarging the democratic rights of the people.

The draft stipulates the system of the people's congress, which is China's basic political system. The people, by means of democratic elections, produce representatives to exercise the powers on their behalf, organize the government, and manage the state, with the authority to supervise and recall the personnel forming the political powers of the various levels. It is the greatest and most basic right of the people.

The draft not only restores the provision on the citizens' equal rights before the law in the 1954 constitution, but also makes many concrete stipulations on the rights, democracy and freedom of the citizens. For instance, Article 2 stipulates that "all powers" of the state "belong to the people" and, "according to the provisions of the law and by all kinds of channels and forms, the people have the right to manage the affairs of the state, the economic and cultural enterprises and social affairs;" Articles 18 and 19 also stipulate that the staff and workers' congress has the power to manage the enterprise and exercise democratic control, the laborers have the power to elect and recall the management personnel, etc.

The law of the lesson of the 10-year civil strife and for the purpose of earnestly safeguarding the personal freedom and dignity of the citizens the draft clearly provides that "the personal freedom of the citizens may not be violated;" "the illegal deprivation or restriction of the personal freedom of the citizens by illegal custody or other means and the illegal search of their persons are prohibited;" "the personal dignity of the citizens may not be violated" and "insults and

slanders of the citizens by any means are prohibited;" "the residences of the citizens may not be violated" and "illegal search or illegal invasion of the residences of the citizens is prohibited;" etc. These articles indicate that, in the new draft constitution, the people's democratic rights are further enlarged and protected.

The draft stipulates that the rights and obligations of the citizens are inseparable. Citizens enjoy full rights, but they may not do as they please. Rights are accompanied by obligations. When exercising their freedom and rights, the citizens may not damage the interests of the state, society and the collective and the legitimate freedom and rights of other citizens. The deletion of the articles on the "four greats [speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing large-letter posters] and "strikes" in previous constitutions completely conforms to the interest of the state, society and the overwhelming majority of the citizens.

4. That the basic task hereafter is to carry out the socialist modernization construction and gradually build China into a highly democratic and highly civilized socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense and modern science and technology is clearly established in form of law.

The sustained improvement of the social productive forces and the gradual satisfaction of the people's growing material and cultural needs constitute the basic goal of the socialist revolution and construction. The draft clearly stipulates: "The basic task of the people of China hereafter is to concentrate forces to carry out the socialist modernization construction," and the state must, in manifold forms, "continuously improve labor productivity and economic benefits and develop the social productive forces." Thus, the strategic policy of shifting the work emphasis and the issues relevant to economic construction are written into the basic law of the state.

5. The draft embodies the crucial reform and new development of our state system.

The draft stipulates that "the state structure follows the principle of democratic centralism," thereby clarifying the system of government of our country. In state structure, the draft has the following characteristics when compared with the three previous constitutions:

(1) It strengthens the system of the people's congress, enlarges the authority of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, and grants a part of the power of the congress to its standing committee. According to the provisions of Articles 55 and 65, for instance, the standing committee may exercise the legislative powers of the state to formulate laws and decrees, and has the authority to supervise the implementation of the constitution, to formulate and revise laws other than those to be formulated by the National People's Congress, etc. (2) The

chairman of the state is restored. (3) The State Council follows the premier responsibility system, and the premier, vice premiers, State Council members and secretary general will form the routine business conference of the State Council. (4) The state will create the Central Military Commission in charge of the armed forces of the whole country; the Central Military Commission follows the chairman responsibility system. (4) It provides for the appropriate division of power between the central and local governments and enlarges the authority of the local governments. (6) It strengthens the autonomy of minority regions. (7) It stipulates the separation of government and commune and the creation of rural political power, and retains the people's commune as the collective economic organization. (8) The term of office of state leaders is 5 years, which may be renewed upon reelection, but no one may serve more than two consecutive terms, thereby actually abolishing the life tenure of the leading cadres.

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CSO: 4005/957

ON SEPARATION OF RURAL COMMUNE, GOVERNMENT

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 10, 1982 pp 24-26

[Article by staff Political Editorial Office]

[Text] Question: Does the provision on establishing the township people's government and the villagers' committee in the "Draft Revision of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China" published by the standing committee of the National People's Congress signify the separation of government and commune?

Answer: Yes. Article 98, Chapter 3, of the draft provides for the creation of the people's congress and the people's government at the township level; Article 113 provides for the creation of the villagers' committee in the villages, to serve as the basic level mass self-governing organ. In "Explanations of the Draft Revision of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China," Comrade Peng Zhen pointed out: "To reinforce the rural basic level political power and strengthen the rural collective economic organization, the draft, in accordance with the principle of separation of commune and government, stipulates the creation of the township government and the retention of the collective economic organization of the people's commune." In other words, the current system of "integrating government administration with commune management" will be gradually changed after the promulgation of the new constitution.

Question: Why will the system of separating the government from the commune be introduced?

Answer: The rural people's commune has followed the system of "integrating government administration with commune management" for more than two decades. Though it has produced a certain positive effect, the system as a whole has more disadvantages than advantages. Its major flaw is that, when the leading organ of the commune devotes its effort to economic work, it tends to neglect the proper work of the basic level government; on the other hand, it also tends to apply certain coercive methods in administrative management to economic work, detrimental to the development of

the collective economy. Many cadres and masses have long declared that the system of "integrating government administration with commune management" is not adjusted to the demands of modern agriculture and the socialist democracy and legal system, and voiced their hope for reform.

In recent years, many provinces have set up experimental units in rural areas separating the government from the commune and gained successful experiences. As proved by practice, the advantages of separating the government from the commune are numerous: 1. favorable to safeguarding the self-governing rights of the collective economy in organization and system; 2. favorable to lightening the irrational burdens on the peasants; 3. favorable to strengthening party and government work; 4. favorable to developing agriculture in the direction of specialization and socialization; 5. favorable to developing the socialist democracy and avoiding the abuse of power by a minority and infringement of the democratic rights of the masses; 6. favorable to the introduction of scientific operation and management.

Question: Will the separation of government and commune be carried out immediately?

Answer: The separation of government and commune is a tremendous change involving the political and economic lives of 800 million peasants, and requires leadership, preparation, planning, the proper steps and the proper order for its implementation. Not only the change should not be carried out hastily at present, but even within a year or two after the formal passage of the "constitution" in the future, all areas in general should maintain the current system and, in accordance with the provisions of the "Summary of the Nationwide Rural Work Conference" issued by the central government, continue to perfect all kinds of production responsibility systems and reorganize the various basic level organizations. The provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions may make unified plans, set up experimental units and summarize the experiences. Thereafter, on the basis of the experiences and after full preparation and overall planning, the change will be gradually introduced with leadership, by periods and by groups, and in accordance with the concrete conditions of the particular areas.

Before the rural government organization is officially created and begins work, the commune and the production brigades will continue to manage by themselves rural government work, such as public order, the militia, civil administration, judicial administration, industrial and commercial management, communications and post and telecommunications, afforestation and country protection, water conservation and electric power management, culture and education, public health, planned parenthood, etc. The production teams must continue to be responsible for the things which they should be responsible for, and there must not be the least bit of relaxa-

Question: After the separation of government and commune, what will happen to the commune and brigade industries?

Answer: When changing the system of "integrating government administration with commune management," serious attention must be given to the protection and handling of commune and brigade industries. The commune or brigades will continue to lead and manage their present industries. And even after the separation of government and commune in the future, the ownership of the commune and brigade industries (including industries jointly operated by the commune and brigades) and the assets will remain in the commune, brigades or teams. It will not be transferred because of the separation. The rural government will only be responsible for the government work now handled by the commune and brigades. There must absolutely be no destruction and loss of the assets of commune and brigade industries, the public assets managed by the production teams, and other assets managed by the commune and brigades because of the separation of government and commune in the future. Nor should the leadership and management of commune and brigade industries be affected by the separation.

At present, the commune will continue to be responsible for and lead its agricultural technique popularization, livestock and veterinary, farm machinery, and operation and management stations and its forest and aquatic products operation and management. It will continue to manage and lead, according to the current system, the enterprise units of the commune level, including the supply and marketing cooperatives, credit cooperatives, hospitals, cultural stations (including film projection teams) and schools. Without the approval of the higher level in charge, no unauthorized change of leadership and management systems is permitted.

Question: On the issue of "separation of government and commune," what are the points for attention on the part of the commune party committee and the rural cadres?

Answer: The commune party committee of the various areas should reinforce its leadership of rural work and teach the cadres and commune members to correctly understand the momentous significance of the separation of government and commune in the future in terms of strengthening the building and consolidation of the basic level rural government and developing the collective economy. All rural cadres must heighten their sense of discipline, stand fast at their posts, and perform their work properly. When discussing the issue of separating the government and the commune in the draft revision of the constitution, they must forestall all unnecessary ideological fluctuations and confusions and assure the normal performance of the various items of work.

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CSO: 4005/958



## PARTY AND STATE

### SET TERM OF OFFICE FOR STATE LEADERS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 82 p 3

[Article by Peng Binghua [1756 3521 5478], Cangzhou Administrative Office, Human Affairs Department, Hebei Province: "It Is Best That State Leaders Have a Set Term of Office"]

[Text] A draft revision of the constitution stipulates that the following positions be limited to two successive terms of reelection or reappointment to office (each term of office is 5 years):

The chairman and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; the chairman and vice chairman of the People's Republic; the premier and vice premiers and committee members of the State Council; the chairman of the Central Military Commission; the chief justice of the Supreme People's Court; and the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate. This is the most significant reform proposed for the leadership system of our country since the founding of the People's Republic.

Promotion of the prosperity of the party and state require that we have leaders of noble character and high prestige who are strong and in the prime of life. From the standpoint of this basic national policy, there is great significance in the stipulation of the draft revision of the constitution for set terms of office for state leaders. On the one hand, in abolishing life tenure for cadres, the democratic rights of the people can be upheld even more. Based on the work performance of the national leaders during their term of service, the people can decide through elections whether or not they are to be reelected, and thereby assure that the finest persons who can best reflect and represent the interests of the people will serve as national leaders. On the other hand, it will provide for the possibility of a rejuvenation of the nation's leaders. Generally speaking, the age of state leaders after two successive terms of office is somewhat advanced and it is difficult for them to shoulder the heavy and important responsibilities of leadership. To stipulate limited terms of office for state leaders and to establish a system of leaves of absence, retirement and stepping down to second-rank positions for older cadres will satisfactorily resolve the issue of succession of older and younger cadres and will guarantee that there will be a rejuvenation of leading cadres and that we will have successors to our cause who will safeguard the continuity of the path, the general plans and

specific policies of the party and maintain lasting and peaceful rule in our country. Therefore, in dealing with the question of whether or not state leaders are reappointed, we cannot but consider the issue of age, and the decision on whether or not to reelect is a responsibility facing both the party and the people.

9519

CSO: 4005/916

## PARTY AND STATE

### CORRECT APPROACH TO ADVANCED WORKERS' SHORTCOMINGS STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 82 p 3

[Article: "Correct Approach to the Shortcomings or Mistakes of Advanced Workers"]

[Text] The general party branch of the Wunan Municipal Qiaokou Cereals and Oils Storage, Transportation and Distribution Station, in order to more fully foster advanced workers, promptly carries out serious criticism and assistance as soon as deficiencies or mistakes are discovered. Such action is quite correct.

"There is no pure gold; there is no perfect man." Great successes have been attained in the work of advanced workers, giving free play to their vanguard exemplary role. This is not to say that they are "perfect" and incapable of shortcomings or mistakes. Therefore, we cannot demand perfection of advanced workers. However, when we discover shortcomings or mistakes, we certainly cannot be partial or lenient with them; instead, seeking truth from facts, we should point out the shortcomings or mistakes and carry out serious criticism, as does the general party branch of the Qiaokou Cereals and Oils Storage, Transportation and Distribution Station. The facts have shown that such actions will not only not enhance the prestige of the advanced workers among the masses, but will also motivate them to make even further improvements and bring them a step forward in establishing closer relations with the masses.

At present, in some units, advanced workers are isolated and attacked; aside from an improper general atmosphere, we cannot discount the fact that the party organizations of these units have not correctly dealt with the shortcomings and mistakes of these advanced workers as an important reason. When such units discover shortcomings or mistakes of advanced workers, they either cover them up or simply nullify the title of advanced worker. In order to smoothly launch activities fostering the study of advancement, both these attitudes should be changed.

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PATRIOTIC ZEAL TOWARD MOTHERLAND ENCOURAGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 May 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Ping [2525 1627]: "Understanding Mother, Ardently Loving Mother"]

[Text] The achievement of geographical worker Yang Liankang [2799 5114 1660] in wading through 10,000 li to study and observe the Yellow River is moving and inspirational. While studying and observing along the way, she went in and out of places rarely visited by mankind, camped in the open in mountain gorges and on ridges, climbed dangerous cliffs, and forded rushing streams. In spite of the presence of life-threatening dangers she adhered firmly to her chosen course, displaying the pure childlike heart of an ambitious, farsighted intellectual in regard to the motherland.

The motherland is the mother who nourishes us. The martyr Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404] once wrote with deep feeling: "She is a beautiful woman with heavenly endowments and jadelike qualities; every part of her body stirs envy of her beauty." Formerly, when our mother was in the depths of misery, Fang Zhimin called out loudly: "Rescue mother!" "Everyone save mother!" Today's mother has long ceased to be the "begging old woman" at the mercy of the ravages of colonialism. But she still has many backward areas which require everyone of her children to fulfill their obligations and spare no effort to build her up.

The driving motive to repay our mother derives from the understanding and ardent love we have for her. Throughout the past 5,000 years, the Chinese people have had numerous outstanding achievements and glorious struggles, as well as suffering the humiliation of setbacks, all of which can be used as teaching materials for patriotism, allowing us to understand and study and from which we can draw strength to move ahead. The natural environment of the motherland comprises a vast realm which requires that we go and explore and understand in order to fully develop our own capabilities. In the process of inspecting the Yellow River on the spot and researching the historical development of the Yellow River, Yang Liankang has demonstrated a childlike earnestness toward the motherland; Shu Yu [2579 6877] has displayed deep feelings toward the motherland through concentrating on studies and attaining outstanding achievements in a foreign country. Our mother country has ardent expectations of each of us. From our various positions we can all equally express our patriotic zeal through the concrete action of performing our duties well.

BRIEFS

FUZHOU PLA MARK CCP FOUNDING--The political organ of the Fuzhou PLA units recently issued a circular calling on the party organizations of all the PLA units in Fuzhou to carry out education among all party members around 1 July on how to preserve the purity of communism and to mark the founding of the party with actual deeds in strengthening party spirit and rectifying party style. The circular called on the party organizations at all levels to achieve the basic goal of maintaining our party's purity as the pioneer of the proletariat and of holding aloft the banner of communism in their various activities to mark the 61st anniversary of the founding of the party. It called on them to educate the broad masses of party members on the party's fine traditions and guide the party members in becoming firm and sober-minded revolutionaries with great achievements and in playing their exemplary vanguard role well in the course of developing socialist spiritual civilization and accomplishing all the tasks. The circular also called on them to strengthen ideological education among new party members around 1 July, and organize all party members to hold heart-to-heart talks with the masses and solicit opinions and accept criticism from the masses. It urged them to commend advanced party branches and outstanding party members and to further train more army men who have lofty ideals, good morality, knowledge and good health; who stress the army's standards for appearance and bearing, good manners and good discipline; and who fear neither hardship nor bloodshed and sacrifice. [Text] [OW170219 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 15 Jun 82]

JIANGSU AWARDS MODEL WORKERS--A grand meeting to present awards to model workers and advanced collectives in Jiangsu for 1981 was held at the Great Hall of the People in Nanjing on the morning of 11 June. More than 3,000 people including 515 model workers and 227 representatives of advanced collectives and 20,000 troops gathered under the same roof. Among them were peace-keepers in promoting socialist material civilization and models in promoting socialist spiritual civilization. Responsible comrades of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's government, the provincial Military District and the provincial CPPCC committee who were in Nanjing, Zhou Ze, Ding Keze, Jin Xun, Xu Fangheng, Zhou Yifeng, (Liu Hegeng), Hong Peilin, (Luo Yunlai), (Peng Bo), Xu Binghao, Ye Xuchao, Li Zhizhong, Wei Yongyi, Hua Chengyi, Gao Juefu, Guoqing Huilin, (Ju Fang) and (Liu Zhicheng) were present at the opening ceremony. Responsible comrades of departments, committees, offices and bureaus concerned under the provincial party committee and the provincial people's

government and of mass organizations were also present at the meeting. Comrade Zhou Enlai spoke at the meeting. After the opening ceremony, the representatives exchanged experience. [Excerpts] [0W121021 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jun 82]

**ZHEJIANG CONGRESS TO CONVENE**--The Standing Committee of the Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress held its 15th session on 7 June. The session decided to convene the Fourth Session of the Fifth Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress on 18 June, before which time a preparatory meeting will be held to study and discuss the draft revised Constitution. The 15th session of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress discussed the guidelines and agenda for the forthcoming fourth session of the provincial people's congress. It discussed and adopted a report on the work of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. It also discussed and revised the Zhejiang provincial provisional regulations on collecting fees and imposing fines for discharging industrial wastes. Vice Chairman Wang Fang of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress presided over the session. Present were Liu Dan, Liu Zizheng, Xia Qi, Li Lanyan, Wang Qidong, Zhu Zuxiang, Ju Jiyi and Xing Zitao, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. Responsible comrades of the provincial higher people's court and the provincial people's procuratorate attended the session as observers. [Text] [0W090407 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 8 Jun 82]

**CENTRAL LEADERS WATCH OPERA**--The Jilin Municipal Beijing Opera Troupe wound up a 50-day performance tour in Beijing and returned to Changchun on 13 June. Wang Shoudao, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the National CPPCC Committee, and Deng Liqun, director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, attended a performance on 4 June in Beijing. [SK140335 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jun 82 SK]

**ZHEJIANG CONGRESS SESSION PRESIDUM**--Namelist of the Presidium and secretary general of the Fourth Session of the Fifth Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress: Members of the Presidium (73 members whose names are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames): Ting Youcan, Ma Desheng, Wang Lanying (female), Wang Fang, Wang Qidong, Wang Jinyou, Wang Zuxun, Wang Yumin, Wang Yaoting, Wen Yun (female), Tian Hua, Li Yuhua (female), Biao Jizhong, Xing Zitao, Liu Zizheng, Liu Tianxiang (female), Liu Dan, Sun Ailiang, Zhu Renjun, Zhu Zuxiang, Zhu Fuxin, Tang Xingyin (female), Li Qingtao, Li Chuanxiao, Li Tiefeng [2621 6993 1496], Li Tiefeng [2621 2993 6912], Li Chuanxiao, Li Hui, Li Lanyan, Yang Zhanda, Wu Benzhong, Shen Shiru, Shen Guokang, He Ren, Yu Jiyi, Song Bing (female), Zhou Xiaoru, Zhang Songwen, Zhang Jingling, Zhang Jingtang, Zhang Lin, Chen Shuangtian, Chen Yousheng, Chen Anshu, Chen Zhiwei (female), Cheng Zhong, Ji Tiangen, Zhu Peinong, Zheng Chaoqun (female), Zheng Jiashun, Zhao Zhengyi, Hu Jianying (female), Hu Jianshi, Hong Aianwen, Mo Pu, Xia Zhudi (female), Xia Di, Jia Yi, Qian Facheng, Qian Xing, Xu Yongcan, Xu Qichun, Xu Wanzhen (female), Kang Ningcai, Tao Ruojun (female), Huang Jianping (female), Cai Bo (female), Shang Jingcai, Liang Ruzhi, Jiang Bandi (female), Qiang Qixing, Lin Yuzhang and Xue Ju. Secretary general: Xing Zitao. [Text] [0W301111 Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p.2]



On 17 June the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee held a memorial service for comrade Yu Yifu, former Jilin Provincial CCP Committee member and chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, died in Harbin. Leading comrades of the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Government and CPPCC committee and other leading comrades, including Chen Junsheng, Zhao Dezun, Zhang Ruilin, Wang Guozhu, Wang Dorian, Xie Yunqing, Wei Zhimin, (Wang Guangwei), (Yan Lian), Jin Langhai, (Zhang Wenlin), and (Yang Zirong) took Yu Yifu's ashes from the Harbin railway station to the bank in Songhua Jiang. [SK240652 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Jun 82 SK]

CANADIAN DELEGATION IN HEILONGJIANG--The delegation from the Alberta Province, Canada, visited Heilongjiang Province 15-23 June. A forum was held to discuss the economic, commercial, scientific, technical, cultural, educational and sports interchanges between the two provinces. The delegation paid a visit to the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Government and was received and feted by Governor Chen Lei. Wang Huacheng, mayor of Harbin Municipality, and Wang Dong, the Chinese ambassador to Canada, and his wife attended the banquet. He Jie and Wang Jun, vice chairmen of Heilongjiang Province, chaired the bilateral talks. [SK240652 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Jun 82 SK]

LI DESHENG RECEIVES VOLLEYBALL PLAYERS--The first phase of the 1982 volleyball games opened in Shenyang today. Attending the competition were some PLA grade-B men's and women's volleyball teams and eight youth volleyball teams--a total of 230 players. "Yesterday evening Li Desheng, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and commander of the Shenyang PLA units, and Liao Hansheng, first political commissar of the Shenyang PLA units, as well as other leading comrades received all athletes and representatives attending the experience exchange meeting on learning from the national women's volleyball team." [Excerpt] [SK190500 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Jun 82]

On 29 June the Jilin Provincial Physical Culture and Sports Committee held a meeting this afternoon. Leading comrades, including the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee, were on hand. [Excerpts] [SK240652 Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Jun 82]

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### COMMEMORATION OF MAY 4 MOVEMENT NOTED

#### Inspiration of Movement

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 82 p 4

[Article by Yu Lin [6735 2651]: "Move Boldly Forward Through the Torrent"]

[Text] The May 4 Movement was an anti-imperialist, antifeudal patriotic youth movement and an ordinary tempestuous revolutionary torrent. Within this torrent, some men forged straight ahead undaunted by repeated setbacks and they became communists; and some men sank beneath the current, becoming the rightwing of the bourgeoisie and the pawns of imperialism. Why was this?

Comrade Xu Deheng [6079 1795 3801], a veteran of "May 4," feels that the key lies in whether or not one had a firm belief. Many of the pioneers were "penniless, yet worried about the world." They sought revolutionary truth, upheld revolutionary struggle and held high the banner of Marxism. Comrade Zhou Enlai, in a letter of March 1922 sent from Paris to Tianjin, wrote: "As soon as I arrived in Europe I began comparing all doctrines," and "now I am firmly confident that the communist tenets in which we believe and the two principles of class revolution and proletarian dictatorship--and the means for carrying them out--are right for the times." Through the May 4 Movement the progressive youths represented by Comrades Mao Zedong, Li Dazhao, Yun Daiying [1926 0108 5391], and Deng Zhongzha [6772 0022 1115] combined the sciences of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary democratic movement. Their belief in communism was gained through repeated "inquiring comparison" in revolutionary practice and the study of Marxism-Leninism. Only by grasping Marxism in practice were they able to advance victoriously.

But the existence of capitalism tempts and corrupts youth. There was one "poor" young student who struggled and scraped by through the May 4 period and afterwards accepted 20,000 taels of silver arranged by Hu Shi, went off to the United States to study and, upon returning, joined the reactionary parties and worked willingly for them. Today, the Western bourgeois political viewpoint, ideological consciousness and lifestyle still seeps into our life and ideology through various channels. This requires that we strengthen our defenses. Belief in communism and lofty revolutionary ideals are our strongest defense against this corruption. This problem is especially acute in our coastal areas. Some youths do not wish to labor arduously to create a

new life, and they engage in struggling, speculation, stealing from the states, selling fine assets and other activities which follow a criminal path. In addition to strict laws and regulations and attacks on important criminals, solving this problem and bringing the tainted up from the depths requires carrying out ideological and political education, carrying out the study and promotion of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, promoting the four fundamental principles, promoting the line, principles and policies of the party, and carrying out education in patriotism, the legal system and socialist direction and morality. In addition it is necessary to see to it that those wavering at the crossroads choose the correct direction and don't set out on the wrong course, that those whose understanding is hazy are awakened, becoming firm in belief and taking the correct road; and that the multitude of youths become clear-headed, idealistic, moral, cultured, disciplined revolutionaries firmly set on the socialist path.

Youngsters full of great communist aspirations to advance with the revolutionary current--this is the most precious resource that the May 4 generation left us.

#### May Chinese Movement

Fuzhou HUIJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 82 p 4

[Article by Hu Bing] in [5170 357] 7792]: "Thoughts While Strolling Guohuo Road"

[Text] During the commemoration of the 63d anniversary of the May 4 Movement, I stroll along Guohuo Road [Chinese Goods Road] in Fuzhou with thoughts crowding into my mind.

In 1910, once the May Movement erupted in Beijing, a patriotic movement and student buying drive began in Fuzhou, opening a new chapter in the history of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle of the people of Fuzhou.

The May Movement was brought on by imperialism's intense political and economic "barbarism". In 1840, British imperialism first used gunboats to break through China's front door, forcing the decadent Qing government to open up the so-called treaty ports, two of them in Fujian: Amoy and Xiamen. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1895, the entire Province of Fujian fell under the influence of Japanese imperialism. Once Japan gained sole control of Fuzhou, imperialists dumped vast amounts of goods that the local people were able to produce themselves, seriously devastating a local handicraft industry that was originally very weak. In addition, imperialists relied on various political and economic privileges to monopolize control of the city's commerce and warehouses--"drugs and illicit sex spread in the city." And in order to support the invasion, imperialists organized a "League of Friends of Fuzhou". Patriotism and betrayal cannot be separated, and the movement advocating the buying of Chinese goods and in support of national industry and development finally erupted.

In this movement, the patriotic spirit and heroic quality of the people of Fuzhou was fully reflecting. The Fuzhou women of that time are worthy of note.

They were resolute in switching over and using the homespun cloth produced in the city which was euphemized as "patriotic cloth" and, even more inspiring, after the Japanese imperialists manufacture the bloody Taijiang incident that created a sensation throughout the country, the people of Fuzhou did not knuckle under, but remained determined to struggle against the imperialist thieves to the end. First, they established a "Chinese Products Exhibition Hall" at Nangangyuan and set up a large stone marker reading "Please Use Chinese Products." Afterwards, they renamed the one main thoroughfare leading from the market area to Nangangyuan Guohuo Road so that following generations would learn to be patriotic forever. This was the origin of Guohuo Road.

The long cherished hope of the older generation of revolutionaries for national independence and the liberation of the motherland was realized 33 years ago. The task which history presents us with now is to develop fully, under the leadership of the CCP, the superiority of the socialist system and to realize the four modernizations in China. In order to attain this purpose, it is necessary that we uphold socialist and patriotic viewpoints and broaden and develop both the mutual exchange of needed goods and services and friendly relations with every nation of the world. The problem at present is that some people forget the link between patriotism and opening to the outside world and that developing exchanges with the outside is merely a means to hasten prosperity for the motherland. Our import of foreign technology and equipment is for the purpose of protecting and developing national industry. But, in the minds of some, especially youths who do not understand the history of the nation, there is a blind passion for foreign goods--they believe that all foreign things are better: Even more detestable is the small number of people who go so far as to abandon their own and the nation's personality and get feverishly caught up in smuggling, corruption and bribe taking and who sell out the interests of the nation and the people, acting after the fashion of the profiteer, Huang Zhanao [7806 4232 7663], of whom the people of that time would not speak. Because of this, I want to take this occasion to renew the call for patriotic spirit and enthusiasm.

Among the avenues and alleys of Fuzhou, Guohuo Road is just an ordinary street, but it's name records the historic site of the patriotic struggle of the people of Fuzhou. I hope that more people will think of it often.

9705

CSO: 4005/878

IMPROVED TRAINING OF CADRES IN POLITICAL WORK EMPHASIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 82 p 2

[Article by Qu Zhe [2575 2124]: "The Training of Cadres in Political Work Urgently Needs Improvement and Strengthening"]

[Text] Now that emphasis in the work of the party has been shifted to socialist economic construction in this new era, the question arises as to whether it is still necessary to strengthen ideological and political work. The answer, of course, is a resounding "yes." Our rank-and-file political workers are, generally speaking, of a high caliber. Over a period of years, our cadres engaged in political work, through their dedication, have accomplished their various missions without any setbacks. However, they still fall far short of being able to cope with the demands of greatly strengthening the ideological and political work in this new age. There is ample evidence that, first, their cultural standard is relatively low; second, there is a lack of a well-integrated set of specific theories; and third, there exists a gap that needs to be filled.

The "relatively low cultural standard," which generally applies to the rank-and-file of ideological and political workers, is a phenomenon that is particularly noticeable in the industrial, agricultural, financial and commercial sectors and in the suburbs and counties. According to the findings of a certain industrial system regarding its eight subordinate bureaus last year, the cultural standard of about half the cadres in charge of political work in the bureaus and departments was at, or below the junior middle school level. It is also known that from the bureaus and departments was at, or below the middle school level. It is also known that from the bureaus and departments down to the basic levels, the ratio of political workers whose cultural standard is relatively low to the entire body of political workers is showing a sharp increase. In some basic units, 60, 70 or even 80 percent of the political workers are of relatively low cultural level. Unless a change in the situation is brought about, political workers can hardly be expected to requit themselves in a manner that meets the demands of scientific administration. It is even more unrealistic to expect them to carry out ideological and political work in the economic sector and to resolve the inherent "conflict" between political work and work in the economic sector. That is one of the important factors accounting for the inadequacy of political work in meeting the requirements.

What is meant by "the lack of a well-integrated set of specific theories" is that, although ideological and political work is a branch of science and a specific calling, a set of specific theories has yet to be integrated and established systematically. For example, it is necessary that those engaged in work involving propaganda, organization, the cadres, the secretaries of the party committees and the youth corps, aside from being conversant with the basic theories, the basic stand, the basic viewpoints and the basic methods of Marxism-Leninism and the line, principles and policies of the party, should have some knowledge in a specific field and be familiar with certain basic specific theories. However, those who are engaged in political work at various levels must have certain qualifications before they can hope to have a clear understanding of such theories. In this respect, it may be said that the work of research and summing up of our findings is lagging far behind. In conducting training classes for different groups of cadres, the party schools resort to the same methods and teach the same courses regardless of the type of work in which the trainees are engaged. This method was justifiable at a time when the primary need was to resolve certain common problems and to put down rebellion and restore order by getting the cadres to toe the correct line. However, the continued use of this method for the training of cadres will prove to be increasingly inadequate in meeting the demands of political work in this new situation.

What is meant by "the existence of a gap" is that, to various degrees, the political work departments are going through a period when the old are getting older and the young are still too young to take over, so that a gap exists in between. This situation is particularly acute at the basic levels. Furthermore, many of the political cadres are not happy with their jobs. They consider that political work does not carry much prestige, that the work is arduous, that despite all their efforts they have to resort to the same "panacea," and that they would do well to seek other jobs. For this reason, it is difficult to reassign cadres from other departments to engage in political work and often "no replacements" can be found to fill vacancies. It has therefore become a matter of necessity to adopt positive measures to greatly improve and strengthen the training of political cadres.

First of all, the training of political cadres requires the solidifying of their ideological thoughts. There is a close relationship between the degree of firmness on the part of political workers and the prestige attached to political work. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Committee has adopted a series of measures designed to correct certain undesirable practices within the party. As of the beginning of this year, the Central Committee has also made a start in bringing about structural reform, in dealing a blow to illegal and criminal activities in the economic area, and in calling for serious efforts to bring about the establishment of a spiritual civilization. These important measures have won the hearts of the people and raised the prestige of the party and of political work in a basic manner. The success brought about by the unrelenting pursuit of this line of work will give encouragement to political workers and solidifying their ideological thoughts. However, it should also be recognized that in order to solidify the ideological thoughts of political workers, it is necessary to find a solution to certain problems involving matters of policy. For instance, the pay for young and



middle-aged political workers is lower than that for other workers with similar qualifications. Again, those engaged in political work are not given proper titles befitting their work. When titles used in other professions are given to political workers, they are generally one grade lower than those given to other workers with similar qualifications. This practice has given rise to inequities between the remuneration and the granting of titles to political workers and those of comrades engaged in work of a technical nature in other professions. These inequities have in actual practice served to give people the impression that political work is less important than work in other fields. This is something to which we should give our attention from the standpoint of policy.

Second, it is necessary to make a positive effort to select from among the comrades those who are politically reliable, possessed of organizational abilities and of a relatively high cultural standard or who have certain professional technical skills, in order to provide a contingent of leaders in political work and, with their cooperation and that of the existing leadership cadres and political workers, to select and train step by step various types of personnel, including those engaged in political work, who meet the required standard in this new era, and to gradually alter the cultural and age makeup of the contingent of political workers. There is ample evidence that the higher the cultural, scientific and technical standard, the more capable are political workers of readily understanding and coping in a positive manner with the problems of imparting knowledge to those in leadership positions at various levels in the units of which they are in charge, of making political work a special profession, of lowering the age range of political workers, and of altering the structure of the contingent of cadres. Such political workers attach greater importance to implementation of the policy on the full development of the potential of intellectuals and are in a better position to establish a link between political work and work in the economic area.

Third, it is necessary to establish a special set of theories in political work. It is proposed that the concerned departments in the Central Committee marshal their respective resources, or instruct certain provinces and municipalities to marshal their respective resources, to sum up in a conscientious manner the experiences in political work gained by our party from the last few decades, to familiarize themselves with the scientific aspects of the work of administration at home and abroad, and to compile as soon as possible special elementary, intermediate and advanced teaching materials on political work, including propaganda, organization and the work at various levels may be given special training, their party affiliation may be strengthened and their respective professional standards may be raised to a higher level. The establishment of a set of specific scientific theories for political workers to learn, to delve into problems, to perform and to take pride in their work.

Fourth, it is necessary to establish a system for the training and evaluation of political workers. On the one hand, young and middle-aged political workers should be separately organized according to their different standings in their cultural and scientific subjects, the basic theories of

Marxism-Leninism and the relevant principles and policies of the party, or to acquire professional expertise in the field of political work. On the other hand, after a special set of teaching materials on political work has been systematically compiled, those who have been selected to engage in political work should be made to undergo a period of training and to undertake political work after they have passed an examination and received a diploma.

A system should be established which clearly defines the responsibilities of all political workers. Their work should be evaluated once a year or every half year, on the basis of which they should be reassigned to a higher position or promoted to a higher grade.

Fifth, political workers should be selected from among the young to undergo a period of training. Students who excel both morally and academically as well as student cadres should be selected from senior middle schools, secondary vocational schools and colleges. After their graduation, they should be made to engage in political work at the basic level for a few years. After it has been determined that they are truly of a high caliber, they should be selected to receive education in the specific theories of political work before launching into a career in that field. It is also possible to select political workers from among middle-aged and young cadres who are already engaged in that field of work and who are possessed of a high cultural and scientific standard. However, they should be selected and given training in the specific theories of political work, they may learn how to go about their work and acquit themselves in a creditable manner.

9621

CSO: 4005/887

EXPOSE SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS IN LITERARY CREATIONS

Beijing GUANQING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Ming Jue (14924 0193 2638): "Literary Creation Must Be Brave In, and Good At, Exposing Social Contradictions"]

[Text:] During the past few years, a new situation of prosperity has come about in our literary creations. Many works which are brave in, and good at, exposing social contradictions and reflecting the contradictions and struggles in real life in the new era have been praised by the party and the masses of the people. Following the method of creating according to revolutionary realism, these works have touched on our present-day social contradictions and even the sharper contradictions among them. But another situation also exists. Some [people] have conducted surveys and feel that, at present, those who write on subjects of immediate life are on the decrease; works which depict love and childhood life are on the increase, whereas those depicting real contradictions and conflicts are on the decrease; works which depict the mental world of certain personalities are on the increase, whereas those portraying the characters of personalities through major contradictions and conflicts are on the decrease. Even in the case of works that make use of historical subjects, some of them often avoid the serious struggles that have occurred in history. There are also other works whose contents, as reflected in them, show little social meaning because what they touch upon is but superficial situations that obviously appear to be rather dull. Both the successful and unsuccessful aspects of our practice in creating, as mentioned above, suggest to us the matter of how to correctly solve the reflection of social contradictions in our literary creations.

In terms of the diversity and incisiveness of their reflection of the contradictions and conflicts in our social life in the new era, the following works which have appeared during the past few years are the ones worthy of our attention: the short novels "Nei Cheng Jia" ["Interior Master of the House"], "Chen Huansheng Zhuanye" ["Chen Huansheng's Specialty: His Job"], the multiact play "Shui Shi Qiangze?" ["Who Is Up? Who's Down?"], and the color films "Xi Yinmen" ["The In-laws"] and "Mumaren" ["The Brideless"]

What "Neidangjia" depicts is rural life, but, through a dramatic incident that takes place in a small village, it profoundly reflects the contradictions and struggles that have come to the fore since we started to implement our policy of opening up to the outside world. The erstwhile bosses and rich men have become wanderers and visitors in foreign countries today, whereas the hired hands and maids of yesterday have become perfectly dignified masters now. However, because of the different perceptions of the party's policy by various people, different persons also have different attitudes on the question of how to treat such changes. This, too, has constituted sharp contradictions and struggles in life. The work vividly depicts the emotional ripples and waves that are provoked by the changes in people's lives. The contradiction and conflict manifested between Li Qiulan and Director Sun over the question of how to treat Liu Jingui's return to his native place profoundly reflects a side view of how to correctly treat the party's policy of opening to the outside world. This undoubtedly has positive meaning with regard to the incisive criticism of the multifarious erroneous views and erroneous trends on this very question and to the establishment of a dignified outlook on the part of the masters of the socialist motherland.

If "Neidangjia" can be said to be of typical significance in reflecting the contradictions and struggles that have appeared since our opening to the outside world during the new era of the four modernizations, then "Chen Huansheng Zhuanye" is also of rather typical significance in the reflection of the various contradictions that have appeared since the implementation of our economic policy of "enlivening internally." Suddenly taken in by leaders of the production brigade, "head of a 'funnel household'" [loudouhu: 3345 2435 2073] Chen Huansheng, this sharp but no less straightforward and good-natured farmer "changes his job" and becomes the purchasing agent of the brigade-run enterprise. This is because he has struck up a casual friendship with county party committee secretary Wu Chu, who by now has already become regional party committee secretary, and people wish to take advantage of the relationship he enjoys with that "big cadre" in order to get past bottlenecks and acquire goods and materials. With this special humorous and jocular tone, Gao Xiaosheng vividly and incisively reveals the myriad contradictions that show up in our society in the process of "enlivening our economy": rules and regulations no longer suitable, "capable people's" attempts to seize opportunities to gain advantages, a few persons' jobbery... all of these are penetratingly dissected by the author with his sharp anatomic knife of life. Such a revelation is bound to be beneficial to our correct perception of certain abuses that prevail in our society today and also to the arousing of our attention to remedy them.

With a sharp, artistic eye, the author of "Shui Shi Qiangze?" seizes on the question concerning the "art of cultivating connections" which people regularly encounter in the construction of the four modernizations and feel incensed about, concentrates the strong sentiments generally prevailing among the masses in demanding a change in such unhealthy practices, and thereby broaches the acute question as to how, if we wish to do a good job of pursuing the four modernizations, we must put a resolute struggle against such an unhealthy practice as resorting to the "art of cultivating connections."

1960 film "The Family" is limited to the internal contradictions of a family, this film does not put the thematic question to rest as to whether there should be a division of the family property but seeks instead to uncover the social, ethical, and moral conflicts arising in this family. The author praises the traditional moral qualities and morals and social customs, and thereby turns the contradictions and conflicts reflected in his work into something that is of social significance.

The authors of these works have given scope to the tradition of revolutionary realism in socialist literary creations, actively reflected real life today, fearlessly exposed the contradictions and conflicts in our social life, broached questions about which the vast ranks of the masses of the people have expressed an urgent concern, and thereby aroused the strong sympathy of the masses and achieved dramatic artistic results. What danger is there in depicting social contradictions and reflecting the conflicts in our real life in such a way? On the contrary, if we avoid social contradictions and attempt only to write about superficial misunderstandings and the like, the eventual consequence might well turn out to be the danger of creating a "theory of no conflicts."

Literary creations must show courage in exposing the contradictions in our social life; this should be an elementary demand on an author. More important should be the demand for an author to be good at depicting social contradictions and correctly reflecting the contradictions and struggles in our life. The reason we endorse the above-mentioned works is of course because these works courageously expose the social contradictions in the construction of our four modernizations, but even more important is the fact that these works correctly reflect the contradictions and struggles in the new era of construction of our socialist four modernizations. What artistic experience can we sum up from these fine works? They tell us:

First, we should depict the "positive background" of the period of socialism and insist that the "positive things" which new things are bound to triumph over old.

Second, since socialist realism, socialist literature and art do not mean to depict contradictions in the sense of depicting contradictions but to reveal, through the depiction of contradictions and struggles in our life, the process and the results of the new things which are going to triumph over old things and advance the socialist cause, to depict the triumph over rotten ideas, and thereby enable people to see the bright future of socialism, actively exert themselves, and struggle for the realization of a four modernization. Hence, while we reflect social contradictions under socialism, we must not depict the dark side of the Socialist state, we must depict the positive background.

Third, we should have a correct understanding of this point and grasp it very firmly. In the "Factory Director Qiao Takes Up the Pen" ("Factory Director Qiao Takes Up the Pen" "Symphony of One Hundred Thousand"), and certain works reflecting the "struggle" in the four modernizations have depicted the myriad obstacles encountered in the construction of our socialist four modernizations, have exposed the social contradictions and struggles in the process of the four modernizations, and have even exposed the many dark aspects of socialism and exposed the ugly



complexions of bad cadres who hinder the construction of the four modernizations, such as Ji Shen and Zhang Anbang, these works were written against the positive background of removing the old and establishing the new in respect to our present social contradictions and the dark aspects of our life. Qiao Guangpu and Ding Meng may be, or are, suffering certain setbacks, but the ultimate victory surely belongs to the reform-minded, forward-marching forces represented by Qiao Guangpu and Ding Meng. The authors have indicated that in the process of these complex and complicated contradictions and struggles, there is a positive social background. The play "Shui Shi Qiangze?" is also successful in its artistic expression. Through the various contradictions that the Xinhua cotton textile mill encounters in expanding its 9,000-spindle workshop, [the play] reveals how the "art of cultivating connections" involves and activates the nerves of society like a cobweb, rendering almost everyone--including mill director Yuan, who energetically advocates forthrightness and is determined not to resort to the "art of cultivating connections"--hamstrung by this very "art of cultivating connections." Thus, in certain situations he is forced to succumb to this "art of cultivating connections." This work does depict the dark side, but it by no means excessively exaggerates negative phenomena and still less describes such negative phenomena as the products of socialist society. It does not take the attitude of enjoying them or gloating over them, but exhibits contempt and hatred for this "art of cultivating connections." The work subjects to judgment, sarcasm and criticism section chief Ni, who is good at resorting to the "art of cultivating connections"; the Jiangnan textile mill section chief Zhao, who is forced to resort to the "art of cultivating connections"; and the "Little Alarm Clock," who is deeply contaminated by this "art of cultivating connections." Thus, people see that behind such unhealthy practices there is a strong forthrightness. That is to say, while exposing this society which is permeated and polluted by this "art of cultivating connections," it at the same time presents the positive background of our socialist society. In this regard, we think the movie "Lingju" ["Neighbors"] is also well written. "Lingju" describes the rather sharp social contradictions that exist in our life at present--namely, the various contradictions and conflicts concerning the question of housing distribution, the suffering of the vast ranks of the masses due to the shortage of housing, the unhealthy practices in the adjustment and allocation of housing and the building of new dormitories, etc. But the whole film nevertheless makes people feel that our society is not all darkness or faces only a dim future but is full of brightness and full of hope. The two dinner parties held in the "Tong" residential building of the Architectural Engineering College even make American reporter Inez feel that she "seems to have returned to Yan'an." The movie "Herdsman" depicts Xu Lingjun's long-sustained pains and trials, but it also describes the friendship, warmth and joy of the toiling people which enable Xu Lingjun to derive from them his courage and strength for carrying on with his life. These works not only pay attention to exposing contradictions but also present the positive background of our society; they indicate the inevitable trend in our life in which truth, goodness and beauty triumph over falsity, evil and ugliness; and they demonstrate the people's confidence in sure victory.

Second, we should depict the spiritual outlook and strength of character of the dominant personalities in contradictory situations--especially the socialist new people who march courageously forward in the rushing current of contradictions and struggles.



social contradictions develop and change in the midst of struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In everything there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and then to dominance, while the old aspect changes from being major to being minor and finally to disappearance. And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes qualitatively into a new thing."

Therefore, if literary works reflect social contradictions and reveal the contradictions and struggles in our real life, it is of great importance that they depict the various struggles between the new and old aspects of things and indicate how the new aspect changes from being minor to being major, ascends to the status of being dominant, and thereby propels the development of these things. From the standpoint of artistic expression, it is of especially great importance for literary works to describe the growth and maturation of the socialist new people in the midst of contradictions and struggles--to describe their lofty spiritual plane and strength of character in courageously advancing against the reform current in the midst of struggle. The reason why "Qiao Changzhang Shangren li" in describing the aspect of contradictions and struggles in the construction of the four modernizations, enables people to enhance their confidence in the four modernizations lies in the fact that this work has molded the moving image of Qiao Changzhang as a pioneer in the construction of the four modernizations. In "Lingju," the successful molding of Li Qiuqun as a socialist new person plays a positive role in the work's development of contradictions and solution of contradictions. The case of "Lingju" is similar. Because the work has successfully molded a brilliant, moving image of Mr. Liu, adviser to the Architectural Engineering College and former party committee secretary, and has demonstrated the ebullient character and spiritual strength of this communist who is forthright and dares to speak the truth and also earnestly practices what he preaches, the work has reflected the sharp social contradictions reflected in the work to a considerable extent and it also is possible for the work to have a positive

social significance. It is clearly presented that all works depicting the growth and maturation of socialist new people. However, if the contradictions and struggles are not successfully molded in such works, they will not be able to play a positive role in the development and solution of such contradictions. This is why we even greater positive social sig-

ificance. Therefore, literary works must reflect the contradictions and struggles in our real life in order to perceive our contradictions and avoid the question of the authors' standpoint

in the construction of the four modernizations. Therefore, our authors and artists must stand in the party and the people and the stand of socialism, reflect the contradictions and struggles in our real life and reflect social contradictions with a correct attitude and artistic viewpoint. Our advocating a courageous attitude in depicting contradictions and art to depict social contradictions is by no means meaning that all works of literature and art must seek to expose

the dark side of our society. The function of literature and art in reflecting social life is not limited to exposing, much less to exposing the people; it is meant, instead, to reflect the historical process of life's development, to reflect the contradictions and struggles therein. Precisely because life is full of struggles between truth, goodness and beauty and falsity, evil and ugliness, our writers and artists should all the more correctly analyze the many aspects of our social life and depict the many aspects of our life with a correct attitude. Gengde Hu Yaobang pointed out in his "Speech at the Play Creation Forum": "Our writers should dig up noble, superb things, praise them, eulogize them, enable our people to feel stimulated by such examples, to imitate them, and to learn from them. And also dig up those ugly, baselike things, dissect them, expose them, oppose them, warn people about them so that they will draw a clear boundary from them, and ultimately eliminate them." This is to say, in the case of the complex and complicated contradictions in our social life, we should carry out a concrete analysis and adopt different attitudes toward things of a different nature.

In the past few years, the press has carried out criticism or developed discussion with respect to a few works. The problem with these works which were criticized, and about which there was a difference of opinion, lies not in that they revealed social contradictions but in that their authors failed to understand our era correctly and failed to adopt the correct standpoint and viewpoint in reflecting social contradictions and struggles. The problem with the play "Jian Wo Shi Zhengze" ["I, I, I, I, I"] lies not in that it depicts that swindler but in that it adopts a sympathetic attitude toward him. The problem with the medium-length novel "Zhuanrang" ["Transfer"] lies not in that it exposes certain unhealthy practices but in that it concentrates society's dark aspects and embellishes them, thereby turning our society into a "Hangdong County where there is not a single good person". And the problem with "Zui Ru Huacong" ["Entering the Flowerbush Drunk"] and "Jing He Fan" ["Competition in Bowling"] lies not in that they expose the evils of the 'game of four' during the 10 years of turmoil but in that they fabricate extremely bizarre and fantastic plots and confuse the levels of different things.

The most important point in correctly understanding our era and society is to mark the differences between our era and past eras and to mark the different character of our state, our regime and that of states and regimes where exploitive classes enjoy an ruling status. Take bureaucratism and particularization, for example: they are phenomena common to different eras, different societies and different countries. We must not in our socialist state also have problems in this regard, but in addition bureaucratism, particularization and various unhealthy practices, our socialist state and we cannot depict them as products of our socialist society itself. This is because our party and our socialist system struggle against bureaucratism, particularization and such unhealthy practices and are determined to liquidate these phenomena. We must draw a clear boundary on this matter of principle. Without drawing such a clear boundary, we can be led to distort our socialist system and state according to ideological tendencies in our works.

You will find that the literature you art should better reflect social contradictions in the way that it construction of the four administrative and policy contradictions and also focus on our social system as a new problem. Let us select it seriously in the future. And let our theoretical studies.

# GANSU PARTY OFFICIALS CALL FOR IMPROVED PUBLIC SECURITY

Tianzhen GANSU VIDEO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 1

[1001] In a telephone conference held by Gansu Province on the evening of 10 May, the Gansu Provincial Party Committee called on the party committees and political and judicial organs at the various levels to familiarize themselves with the situation and to make a determined effort to adopt decisive measures to bring about an improvement in the public security of the province in the implementation of the instructions regarding the strengthening of political and judicial work issued by the Central Committee. An address was delivered at the conference by Wang Hingxiang [3/69 4420 4332], secretary of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee. Those represented at the telephone conference included the secretaries of the county party committees responsible for political and judicial work in the various localities (administrative districts and municipalities), the responsible persons in the political and judicial organs, and the persons responsible for the concerned units of the province and the larger industrial and mining enterprises. The conference was presided over by Liu Bing [0391 0391], deputy secretary of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee.

Wang Hingxiang pointed out that since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the various party organs at various levels of the province have exercised their leadership in the political and judicial area under the correct leadership of the Central Committee and the various central organs. On these levels, a vast number of police cadres in the political and judicial organs, with the support of the masses, have done a great deal of work and achieved important results in the enforcement of the law and in the maintenance of public security in good order. He pointed out, however, that it must be pointed out that in the various provinces, there are still some problems in the various areas, and that the situation is still far from ideal. To put it in another way, the situation is still far from ideal. This is particularly true during the period of the Three-Anti Movement, when the situation took an upturn and the public security were a frequent occurrence. He pointed out that the fact that major criminal cases in the economic and political spheres have increased along the railways and public security is a great deal to be desired. Counterrevolutionary acts are still being carried out.

As was emphatically pointed out by Wang Bingxiang, the public security problem in our province remains a serious one. The party committees and political and judicial organs at various levels must seriously address themselves to the problem. They must not feel complacent about what they have already achieved and dismiss the problem out of hand. The Gansu Provincial Party Committee expects the party committees and political and judicial organs at various levels not only to deal a crucial blow to major criminal activities in the economic area, but also to brace themselves in making a determined effort to strengthen their leadership in continuing to implement unwaveringly the policy of the Central Committee on dealing severely and promptly with offenders guilty of the "six crimes" in accordance with the law as well as with criminal elements guilty of committing major crimes so that an end may be put to their effrontery and arrogance once and for all. Crimes of a vicious nature which have serious repercussions should be promptly solved and the criminals should be promptly indicted, tried and sentenced. Those in leadership positions in those units which have caused heavy losses as a result of mental stagnation, laxity and remissness in taking the proper measures must be held accountable. The Gansu Provincial Party Committee called upon the Lanzhou Municipal Party Committee, the party committees of the districts and counties along the Tianshui-Lanzhou Railway and the party committee of the Lanzhou Railway Bureau to take positive steps to strengthen their leadership in public security work in order to bring about an improvement in the public security situation. A crucial blow must be dealt to criminals, especially the gang leaders, those who are chiefly responsible for inciting acts of sabotage, and those who are guilty of despoiling the nation's natural resources, damaging the mines, destroying the forests and sabotaging state and collective productive installations.

Wang Bingxiang pointed out that the public security problem is a composite reflection of the various contradictions existing in society. In order to bring about a basic improvement in public security, it is necessary for the whole party to take a hand in mobilizing and organizing all forces from various quarters in dealing with the entire problem. The party, the government, the military, the people and the schools must, on the basis of their actual conditions, formulate an integrated plan to cope with the problem, implement the measures decided upon, and bring about a change for the better in the public security situation step by step and stage by stage. The Gansu Provincial Party Committee called upon the party committees at various levels to establish close coordination in waging a struggle against major criminal activities in the economic area, in rectifying the party style, in enforcing party discipline and in making a determined effort to correct various improper practices. At the moment, a firm hold must be taken of the central problem of education for the young in order to prevent crime and to reduce the incidence of crime. The party, the political and people's organizations in the departments, schools, factories, neighborhoods, the communes and the production brigades in the villages must take upon themselves the responsibility of providing good education to the young. They must strengthen their efforts to educate the young so that they may familiarize themselves with the socialist legal system, learn to love their motherland, their party and the socialist system, further develop the excellent revolutionary tradition, come to appreciate communist ethics and the world outlook of Marxism, continue to develop in depth the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activities and dedicate themselves to the establishment of a socialist spiritual



SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEROINE OF 'FAIRY TALES IN SPRING' CRITICIZED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 4

[Article by Qian Bo [6929 0590]: "Self-Confession of a Degenerate Woman-- On 'Fairy Tales in Spring'"]

[Text] The novel "Fairy Tales in Spring" (Huacheng, 1982, No 1), in describing the love life of the heroine Gong Yushan, takes pains to distort and slander the socialist rule of law and the socialist way of life which our nation has gone all out to support since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and as a consequence has provoked dissatisfaction among readers and has been sharply criticized. It is essential now to criticize this novel and analyze its serious mistakes in ideology and politics to eliminate its unhealthy influences.

I will try to analyze the main problems of the novel and look at just what ideology and standpoint this novel advocates.

I

What kind of person is Gong Yushan, the heroine of this story? By her own account, she is a 33-year old married woman who has been married and divorced several times, has never been bashful in her whole life, and from the bottom of her heart she has an aversion to the word "bashful." The story begins when she gets to know He Jing, who is assistant editor of THE TIMES and 25 years her elder. The story concentrates on the development of their relationship, actually setting down her pursuit and adoration of He Jing, and until He Jing is exposed as a hypocrite, she still wants to "hug him and kiss his cheek." This is real "true love"! Over and over again, the story tells how Yushan ends her so-called "marriage without love" and bravely pursues her beloved He Jing, but in the end she is cheated and the end is tragic. This ought to win the reader's sympathy, but in fact it is just the opposite. If we probe a little deeper into Yushan's statements, it is not hard to discover these questions: just what was it that created Yushan's "marriage without love"? What was Yushan's motive in falling in love with He Jing this way? The answers can only be found in the work itself, and the author's own statement, ... a reliable analytical basis.



"there was no love" and "felt a void spiritually" are the main reasons Yushan gave first for divorcing Ermo and later for divorcing Shuming. but we often find these reasons similarly employed in many works which describe love and divorce. If you look for the origins of this, these words were quoted out of context from Engel's "The Origin of Marriage, the Family and the State," where he says "a marriage without love is immoral" and this is used as a pretext for divorcing one and marrying another. Yu Lojin, the author of "Fairy Tales in Spring," attempted to use this excuse to win sympathy for Yushan. The district court judge who ruled on the divorce of Yushan and Shuming was won over. Yet the reason, "without love" and "felt a void spiritually," is an excuse used by the bourgeoisie for playing fast and loose and being fickle in marriage in the old society, and has already been overused. Even now in Western capitalist society, these reasons are very fashionable and widely used. Actually, when Engels spoke of love as the foundation of a "moral marriage," it was predicated on the elimination of "capitalist production," but clearly now in Western countries which are based on "capitalist production" it is still impossible to speak of realizing "a moral marriage," and in our country we are still a pretty long way from universally realizing that kind of marriage referred to by Engels which is "fully free" by completely eliminating "economic considerations." However, our country after all has marriage principles by which men and women marry of their own volition, and arranged and mercenary marriages are opposed and forbidden, and we are much more advanced than those marriages which are essentially dominated by money as in the countries of the capitalist West. The kind of marriages described in literature and film, such as the marriages of Qing Feng and Lu Qun in the movie "Romance of the Tianyun Mountains" and of Li Xinzhi and Xu Lingjun in "The Horse Border" are universally acclaimed and no one has said that these marriages are immoral. Although economic influences are unavoidable or even are important factors in them, as in Li Xinzhi's first meeting with Lu Lingjun when looking for a deal of risk, even if that is all there is, later when one of them might divorce, probably no one would think it immoral.

10. First of all, Yushan first she marries Ermo, then Shuming and she divorces both of them. Both marriages are motivated by "economic considerations": the first to take her from the impoverished Northeast to settle and once to return to the city to settle. This is not entirely unnatural. Under the specific circumstances of the time, factors permeated with "economic considerations" can be understood, for even in present-day society we have not yet been able to eliminate the taint of a certain amount of "economic considerations." However, it must be made clear that Yushan's two marriages were not her own free will: the other party did not make forcible demands, and after the marriage, apart from beating her because he disliked her lack of culture and ability, Ermo was "absolutely loyal, hardworking, warmhearted, and honest and" and with Shuming "in the several million people of C city, only she felt that she was the happiest as prey." But Yushan set aside her feelings and without considering the family's objections, firmly demanded divorce because it was "without love." The essence? Her two divorces

were proposed after she had a new object to pursue, and it was to secure finalization of the pursuit of the new object. Thus it is obvious that her demand for a divorce was only a product of the combination of the external condition that she had a new object to pursue and the internal factor of her fickleness, and definitely not the consequences produced by any other immoral thing. Although in her petition against Erbao and Shuming Yushan added on defects of character, habits and interests and even "crimes," and though basically they could be proven, she still could not directly create grounds that they should be divorced.

Why bother with the rights and wrongs of Yushan's marriages? This is not simply a matter of the right and wrong of settling a lawsuit, but from discriminating between right and wrong in this instance we should see through the author's corruption in advocating bourgeois marriage and his view of love. It is not hard to understand that the immorality of "marriage without love" is really an illusion created by Yushan herself in her inconstant and immoral behavior! The certainty of the egotist is that any time she can [she will] find something which can be used as a "reason."

The author also uses Yushan to declare: This work (i.e., "Fairy Tales in Spring") is her "indictment." Indicting whom? Who is accused? Looking through the novel it is not hard to see that anyone who does not sympathize with her divorce, doesn't give her work awards, doesn't publish her works, is the accused who is trampling on this powerless, defenseless woman. But people ought to ask: If this kind of behavior such as Yushan's, which is only to satisfy her personal feelings, gives no consideration to anything else, loving whom she wishes, divorcing whom she wishes, is approved and people behave this way, and if works which advocate this kind of marriage are widely published and rewarded, then how many people will be trampled and hurt? Will socialist law still be wanted? Clearly, this story is not only poisonous in the realm of marriage, and love, but also maliciously destroys our entire society.

III

The character of He Jing in the novel doubtlessly should be condemned and flogged. Yet it is definitely not because of He Jing's spiritual meanness that Yushan's image can become noble. Even though the author let Yushan glorify herself, she "had enormous attraction to He Jing's love," "It was so bright, upright, rare. These feelings were worthy of being recorded in the history books," etc, etc, can nauseate, but cannot make Yushan noble!

One may well ask: If He Jing had refrained from revising her work for her and had not busied himself with publishing her work, had not sympathized with her demand for a divorce, had no reputation or position, in a word if he could not have been used by her and was of no advantage to her, would she really still "prostrate herself at his feet"? Would He Jing have really loomed so large in her heart? Had he been willing, He Jing could have begun criticizing her, dissuaded her from her determined pursuit of him, and had her "overcome emotion with reason" and be unable to "let her heart rule her head," declare that he had a wife and a child a year older than her

...her love for him and ... originally were all ... This can only be explained ... He Jing's weak point and that was that he ... and finally fell into her net. The ... his own fault. But ... didn't play any role at all? Two stinks ... the same.

... He Jing? ... her resentment, ... He Jing is cursed outside of ... this approach reflects only ... Party shouldn't be ... "irrational" person who ... is like an idol ... but what use is ... But within China, we should ... the spiritual

... viewpoint ... a distortion of our entire social ... but at home it isn't. ... a reflection

... the confession of a degenerate woman, and ... her degenerate image cannot

PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS DISCUSSES PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Improve Understanding, Do a Good Job, Control Population Growth; Standing Committee of Provincial People's Congress Discusses Planned Parenthood Work in Yunnan"]

[Text] Yesterday, nationality committee members who attended the 13th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Provincial People's Congress conscientiously considered Deputy Governor Wang Shichao's [3769 1102 6389] report and enthusiastically discussed planned parenthood work in Yunnan. Everyone felt that all nationalities of the province should actively respond to the call of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, continue to work hard and firmly control population growth to make a contribution towards the prosperity of China's peoples and the happiness of future generations.

In the discussion, committee members fully affirmed the achievements in planned parenthood work in Yunnan in recent years. Everyone said that under the leadership of all levels of the party and government and through the collective efforts of all nationalities, the natural population growth rate in Yunnan has been lowered and preliminary steps have been taken to turn around an anarchic situation in childbirth. Practice proves that if leadership is strengthened, propaganda carried out in depth, work well founded and measures appropriate it is possible to begin to develop planned parenthood work solidly, and the new situations and problems that have now appeared can also be resolved promptly.

Doing a better job of planned parenthood work was the most enthusiastic question in the discussions of the committee members. Everyone felt that continuing to advocate late marriage, late childbirth, fewer births, better births and better upbringing, controlling the quantity of population and improving the quality of population is the collective wish of the masses of the nationalities and that they are beneficial to the four modernizations, beneficial to the prosperity of the nationalities of China and the happiness of future generations. What is most urgent at present is to strengthen leadership and keep closely abreast with the various tasks. Ideological work should be done thoroughly and painstakingly, and guidance of medical techniques should be conscientiously strengthened. Many committee members said that planned parenthood means changing the prevailing social customs and habits of a great many people. They hope that party and government sections in all

will apply various forms of propaganda to propagandize thoroughly and widely the Central Committee's directives and population policy, as well as to spread health and medical experience and medical and health knowledge, to gradually turn people's spontaneous and self-conscious action of the cadres and masses into a conscious action. Committee members from nationalities in the border border areas should attend to health conditions in the nationality border areas to the border areas and deficient, and the direction of family planning in border areas. It is proposed that provincial, district and county governments at all levels send doctors and medicines to the border areas and help local personnel conduct training in family planning to satisfy the needs of nationality peoples, and to ensure the safety of those practicing birth control.

The Committee members also said that after the implementation of systems of birth control in the rural areas, because we did not keep abreast of the situation, there is a trend towards a rise again in the rate of natural increase in some areas. This must attract our highest consideration. In the rural areas of the border areas, there are people who destroy planned birth control measures. Some of them are stirring up feudal activity, some are taking advantage of the situation, causing abortions, profiting from this and thus endangering the physical and mental health of the women. The Committee members proposed to attack these illegal elements and punish the offenders.

4. 11. 1974  
11. 11. 1974

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS APPROVES PLANNED PARENTHOOD REPORT

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Resolution of the Standing Committee of the Yunnan Provincial People's Congress on Doing a Better Job of Planned Parenthood Work (Approved by the 13th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Yunnan Provincial People's Congress, 17 April 1982)"]

[Text] The 13th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 5th Yunnan Provincial People's Congress heard and discussed Deputy Governor Wang Shichao's [3769 1102 6389] Report on Doing a Better Job of Planned Parenthood Work." The meeting agreed with this report and that all levels of government should conscientiously carry it out.

The meeting felt that doing a good job of planned parenthood work and controlling population growth and raising population quality so that the rate of population growth is adapted to development of the national economy is directly related to the four modernizations and the prosperity of the Chinese peoples, and is a strategic task that faces us. In Yunnan in the past few years, with the support of party committee, government leaders and the masses and with the close cooperation of relevant sections, the hard work of the broad masses and planned parenthood personnel has lowered the natural population growth and made preliminary steps to turn around a situation in which there was unplanned population increase. However, after systems of production responsibility were implemented in the rural areas, new situations and new problems appeared, and because our work wasn't prompt there was a tendency towards another rise in the rate of natural population growth. This must be taken very seriously. In the spirit of "Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and State Council Directives on Doing a Better Job of Planned Parenthood Work," government at all levels should conscientiously strengthen leadership of planned parenthood work, do a better job of planned parenthood work, strictly control population growth, and in the next 2 to 3 years control our province's natural population growth to about 12 per 1,000. The policy of one child per couple should be further strengthened and improved among the state cadres and workers and urban residents; stress should be placed on controlling repeated childbirths in rural areas.

In the past, provisional stipulations concerning planned parenthood in our province have basically conformed to the spirit of the Central Committee's directives on doing a better job of planned parenthood work, and the local areas



...the provincial people's  
...on the basis of investigation and summar-  
...stipulations and methods of implementation  
...and conscientiously carry them out.

...should be mainly ideological  
...should also adopt the necessary measures.  
...should be strengthened and ideological work conscientiously  
...so that the broad masses understand the great  
...increase their  
...and gradually  
...The recruitment and training of a technical  
...should be stressed to raise the level of technique and  
...and health and save living central.

...among minority nationalities.  
...should be made to understand clearly the important significance  
...of improving the population quality of  
...and for promoting the development of the economy and culture  
...of minority areas. Allowances can't be made in the demands, however. In view  
...of the differences in the situations of the minorities, in the spirit of the  
...directives of the United Committee will be in line with local circumstances,  
...and formulated after approval by the provincial  
...people's government.

The meeting called on all peoples of the province to work together with one  
...to lower the natural population growth rate and strive to ensure that  
...population growth plan target will be met smoothly.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### YUNNAN'S DEPUTY GOVERNOR CALLS FOR PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 82 p 1

[Article: "Deputy Provincial Governor Wang Shichao [3769 1102 6389] Demands National Minorities Respond to Party and State Slogans With Action; Carry Out Planned Parenthood, Make a Contribution to the Prosperity of China's Peoples"]

[Text] When giving his report on further improving planned parenthood work, Yunnan's Deputy Governor Wang Shichao said that strictly controlling population growth is an urgent task which faces all of Yunnan's nationalities. Each nationality should certainly respond to party and state calls with practical action, self-consciously carry out planned parenthood and eugenics and make a contribution to the four modernizations, the prosperity of China's peoples and the happiness of future generations.

Deputy Governor Wang Shichao was delegated by the Yunnan People's Government to give this report on the afternoon of the 15th at the 13th Plenary Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th People's Congress. In his report, Wang Shichao first of all said that carrying out planned parenthood and controlling population growth is a very important strategic question which is related to China's socialist modernization. With the further readjustment of the national economy, Yunnan's population question and population policy become increasingly prominent and important. Strictly controlling population growth is an urgent task facing us, and we must regard it seriously, and must stress this task in the spirit of the directive of the Central Committee. When reviewing the basic situation in planned parenthood work in Yunnan over the past few years, he said that after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, along with the shift in work emphasis to economic construction, the Provincial CCP Committee proposed the demand that "production first, population next" and maintain "the two kinds of production" be stressed together, and that if planned parenthood work were speeded up, results would be even more evident. The natural population growth dropped from 26.42 per 1,000 in 1973 to 10.93 per 1,000 in 1980; although there was a slight increase in 1981 it was still under 13 per 1,000. The four regions, Zhao and cities of Xingming, Baoshan, Yuxi and Chuxiong and the 35 counties have controlled population growth under 13 per 1,000 for 2 years. The important experience of units that have done well is that leadership has taken it seriously and the work has been done well; party members, league members, and cadres have actively respond-

... the ... and taken the lead in ... of ... of ... of production responsi-  
bility have been ... with the ... of planned parenthood  
responsibility ... of ... for planned parenthood  
... of ... These operations are good ones and are worthy of  
further ... and expansion. However, we must note soberly that at  
present ... is facing a trend towards increasing  
... and ... to do this work well.

... to planned parenthood work, Deputy Governor Wang Shi-  
shu said: "The ... of the government" approved by the Fourth  
... said that by the end of  
... to under 1.2 billion.  
... to under 40  
... and this year  
... about 12 per 1,000.  
... with central-  
... resolve the pro-  
... and over the quality of the  
... of planned parenthood techniques.  
... to the success of  
... understanding, leaders  
... ideological and  
... instruments of  
... important strategic  
... the population policy of  
... to make Central Com-  
... and penetrate into  
... in practice late marriage and  
... who actively  
... late marriage and late

... is the key to  
... after implementation  
... task to harder  
... should make popu-  
... and dis-  
... have a leadership  
... take a personal  
... planned parenthood  
... in accord with child-  
... in rural  
... and  
... leaders and laborer-  
... really  
... together to do  
... planned parenthood

## ETHNOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TEACHING METHODS OF THE HAI NATIONALITIES COLLEGE (WUZHOU)

BEIJING GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 82 p 2

[Article by Li Wei (Zoll 5558): "How To Teach Students of Minority Nationalities in colleges--Introduction to the Teaching Work Experiences of Hinghai Nationalities College"]

[Text] Editor's Note: In our nation at present there is a group of colleges for nationalities. Some average universities also offer nationalities courses or are in the process of preparing them. How to teach minority nationalities college students is a question that requires research. This report introduces the specific methods of the Hinghai Nationalities College used in teaching minority nationalities college students, and is for general reference.

The Hinghai Nationalities College in Qiqihar teaches nationalities that running a school along with the higher education of minority nationalities. It has achieved remarkable results in teaching work.

The college has at present over 1,800 students of various nationalities, and has over 400 employed minority nationalities teachers. It has achieved remarkable results in teaching work.

The level of education of minority nationalities students is generally on the low level. They have not been given any special attention in the past. They have not been given any special attention in the past. They have not been given any special attention in the past.

The Hinghai Nationalities College has achieved remarkable results in teaching work. It has achieved remarkable results in teaching work. It has achieved remarkable results in teaching work. It has achieved remarkable results in teaching work. It has achieved remarkable results in teaching work.



profound, from the easy to the difficult, and from the close to the distant, and the use of audio-visual aids is stressed.

10. The ideological work of minority nationalities college students must be closely linked with circumstances and tasks, special attention must be paid to the psychological traits of each nationality, national pride must be cherished and developed, and national unity must be stressed.

In order to teach well, the college actively develops scientific research work related to nationalities, religion, the economy of animal husbandry, and other fields, and major efforts are devoted to training the ranks of teachers from each nationality. At present, there are already close to 300 teachers, among which Tibetan, Chinese Muslim, Monguor, Salar, Mongol, and other minority nationalities account for over one-third.

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CSO: 4005/899



SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RECRUITMENT OF STUDENTS FOR MASTERS DEGREE REPORTED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Recruiting Work for Students for Masters Degree Will Begin in Latter 10-Day Period of This Month"]

[Text] This year it is projected that throughout the nation 11,792 students will be recruited for masters degrees. At present, each recruiting unit is in the process of intently organizing the reading and grading of graduate student entrance examinations, and will begin recruiting work in the latter 10-day period of May.

According to preliminary statistics of the department concerned at the Ministry of Education, this year the total number of students throughout the country who will take the examination for masters degree will be 76,745, over 12,000 more than last year. Among the examinees are mainly 1982 graduates from college undergraduate programs. There are 7,587 people among the students who matriculated in 1977 and 53,149 among those who matriculated in 1978, which accounts for 79.1 percent of the total number of examinees. The remainder consists of technological personnel and teachers at middle schools and higher learning institutes, as well as graduate students presently in school, students presently in college, and graduates from junior colleges. The largest number of examinees are from Beijing, then Liaoning, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Hubei, Sichuan, Shaanxi, and other provinces and cities.

This year there are in all 324 institutions of higher learning and 133 scientific research institutions from which units will recruit students who are pursuing masters degrees. Included among them are five departments of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, postgraduate research facilities of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, various departments and commissions of the Central Committee, and local scientific research institutes of provinces and cities.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MILITARY, PRACTICAL WORK TRAINING URGED FOR STUDENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Published Talk by Leading Cadre of Ministry of Education Indicates That Trying Out New System of Military and Practical Work Training for New Students at Higher Education Institutions Is of Major Importance for Fully Implementing Policy on Education"]

[Text] NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY, Beijing, 13 May--As has been previously reported, beginning this year specific higher learning institutes or systems conditionally affiliated with the Ministry of Education, after approval by the State Council, will try out a system wherein new students will participate in practical work for 1 year. The magazine HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT, which will be published in a few days, carries a further explanation of this question made by a leading cadre of the Ministry of Education.

In talking about the significance of trying out this system, the leading cadre of the Ministry of Education stated that upholding the unity of mental and manual labor and the integration of intellectuals with workers and peasants is an important part of our nation's policy on education. In recent years, leading comrades of the Central Committee have stressed that importance must be attached to the practical work training of students. They believe that in the past some views and practices in regard to practical work training were excessive and these should not be repeated now. However, if they are totally abandoned, then going to the other extreme will be unavoidable. Moreover, all sorts of harm is already fully evident. Therefore, we must adopt appropriate measures and earnestly pay special attention to practical work training.

Meanwhile, we must also conduct military training for university students; this is also a state requirement. Many schools have already taken notice and have consolidated military and practical work training. In regard to fully implementing the party's policy on education, trying out a system wherein new students participate in military and practical work training after they have entered school will foster good student attitudes toward practical work and the masses and will inculcate a sense of discipline; it will cultivate the ethical practices of communism that will enable them to develop a multifaceted moral system and become qualified personnel who are both red and expert. This is most advantageous.

In trying out a system wherein new students participate in practical work for 1 year, is it necessary that the entire year be one of practical work? What are the considerations for length of schooling and teaching plans? In leading cadre from the Ministry of Education stated that in the ministry's "Instructions for Recruiting Work for Institutions of Higher Learning in 1982," approved by the State Council, it is pointed out that upon the Ministry of Education's approval of specific institutions or systems for selected experiments, "military and practical work training should be organized after the new students enter school, and some basic courses should be offered." This certainly does not mean that the entire year should be used for military and practical work training. While selected tests are being conducted, the educational systems currently in effect will not change, and teaching plans can be suitably adjusted by the institutions. After the students are promoted to the second year, they still must participate in appropriate practical work.

The leading cadre from the Ministry of Education pointed out that this year only specific institutions affiliated with the Ministry of Education will conduct selected tests. These institutions must meet three conditions: 1) the leading groups of the institutions must be strong, tests must be conducted voluntarily, and the necessary preparations must be made; 2) the consent and support of the leading departments of the local party and government must be obtained; 3) the tests are subject to approval by the Ministry of Education. Taking such steps in conducting tests is relatively safe.

The leading cadre finally stated that while setting up a system wherein new students participate in military and practical work training is a new venture; however, in the aspect of practical work there is much valuable experience in our past. So long as the leadership is attentive, measures are proper, and attention is paid to arousing the enthusiasm of new students, this experimental work can certainly be done well. The institutions that do not conduct these tests should also take notice and consolidate the practical work of students at each level. We believe that undergoing tests and summarizing our experience will surely establish measures that suit the state of our nation's rather consummate military and practical work training. This is significant for accelerating the reform of the whole of higher education and for improving the quality of education.

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CSO: 4005/888

## ANALYSIS OF NEW CHANGES IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 5, 1982.  
pp 42-45

[Article by Li Yang [0500 2254]]

[Text] I. Brezhnev's "Formal Beckoning"

On 24 March in Tashkent, Soviet Central Asia, 75-year old Soviet number one figure Brezhnev again appealed to Beijing to improve relations. According to information of Western press, possibly Brezhnev suffered a stroke when returning from the capital of Uzbek to Moscow and had to be taken to hospital on a stretcher. Thereafter, he had not made a public appearance. Soviet spokesmen refused either to confirm or deny the report of Brezhnev's hospitalization, and the Ministry of International Information of the Soviet Party Central Committee only said "no information." However, the meeting of the Soviet Party Central Committee originally scheduled for 2 April was postponed to after 24 May.

In recent years, news on the deteriorating health of the aging and infirm Brezhnev was often heard. He also gave the impression of exhaustion when visiting or appearing in public. Western information indicated that he suffered a mild heart attack last February. His appeal in Tashkent was probably his "last effort" on the issue of Sino-Soviet relations.

Brezhnev appealed to China to end the 20-year hostility toward the Soviet Union. He declared that the Soviet Union is ready at all times to take concrete measures to improve the relations between the two countries. He also said that Moscow has never denied the existence of the socialist system in China. In the speech, he said: "We have never considered the hostile and estranged condition between our two countries normal.... We are prepared to reach, without preconditions, an agreement on measures acceptable to both countries to improve relations." As for the basis of the agreement, it is mutual respect of each other's interest, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit, which naturally will not endanger any third country. Brezhnev declared that

the Soviet Union has no territorial demand on China. When troubles occurred in Sino-American relations because of U.S. sale of weapons to Taiwan, Brezhnev pointedly reiterated Soviet recognition of China's sovereignty over Taiwan.

China promptly returned Brezhnev's serve. At the news meeting of Chinese and foreign reporters on 26 March held by the Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry, Information Department Director Qian Qichen [6929 0366 3819] only read the statement of the ministerial spokesman and announced that there would be no questions. The content of the statement was: "We noted Chairman Brezhnev's speech of 24 March in Tashkent on Sino-Soviet relations. We firmly protest the attack on China. On the relations between China and the Soviet Union and on international affairs, what we attach importance to are the practical actions of the Soviet Union."

Though the Foreign Affairs Ministry's response was very prompt, China's reaction appeared to be cool. The comment of a XINHUA PRESS reporter of the same date entitled "On Brezhnev's Tashkent Speech" said: The Soviet Union continues to follow an anti-China policy and accuses China of "echoing the policies of the imperialists," "being incompatible with the socialist principles and norms," etc. It also said: The press here has found that Brezhnev's choice of the time of troubles in Sino-American relations because of U.S. insistence on selling weapons to Taiwan to declare Soviet opposition to "the concept of two Chinas" and its "recognition of China's sovereignty over Taiwan" and to express his willingness to discuss "improvement" of relations affords food for thought. It repeated the view of the Foreign Affairs Ministry that decisions will depend on the practical actions of the Soviet Union in the future and pointed out the massive Soviet forces on the China-Soviet border, and asserted that China's denouncement of Soviet hegemonism and expansionism is a matter of course. It also said that it was not the first time that Soviet leaders expressed hopes for "improving" Sino-Soviet relations.

## II. Recent Signs of Change

### Revision of the Official Attitude

While attacking the Soviet Union at the 10th Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1973 and the 4th National People's Congress in 1975, Zhou Enlai declared that disputes should not block the normalization of state relations and that the border issue should be solved peacefully.

After Mao Zedong's death, the Soviet Union suggested total resumption of friendly relations, but the Chinese Communist Party only agreed to discuss the border issue.

In August 1977, Yugoslavian Communist Party Chairman Tito came to Beijing after visiting the Soviet Union and North Korea, and the Chinese Communist Party ceased attacking "U.S.-Soviet collusion."

The Chinese Communist Party "Third Plenary Session" in December 1978 began to criticize Mao openly, announced the rehabilitation of Peng Dehuai and others, and only mentioned the "international anti-hegemonist united front" in foreign policy; it did not openly attack the Soviet Union as at the 11th Party Congress.

The Chinese Communist Party ceased to denounce the domestic policy of the Soviet Union and refrained from criticizing "Soviet restoration of capitalism."

In his talk in 1979 at the mass meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the nation, Ye Jianying openly criticized Mao Zedong's mistakes since 1957, and changed the view on the reasons for the difficulties in the early sixties, finding the "leftwing" mistakes the main cause of the difficulties and the Soviet breach of promise and the natural disasters secondary. When pointing out Mao's mistake in launching the Cultural Revolution, he avoided saying that "the Soviet Union has turned revisionist" and replaced the term "Soviet revisionism" with "the Soviet Union."

After the Third Plenary Session, the Chinese Communist Party launched "the rage for the fifties" and completely affirmed the developments before 1957. It was the heyday of Sino-Soviet friendship.

Vice Foreign Affairs Minister Wang Youping [3769 1635 1627] arrived at Moscow in September 1979, discussed state relations with the Soviets, and hoped for "concrete improvements in the relations between the two countries." China suspended negotiations in January 1980 when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. When the Sino-Soviet treaty of alliance expired in April, the Chinese Communist Party decided not to extend it.

In 1979, China changed the norm of the "vice minister level" in diplomatic protocol and sent the minister of Coal Industry to attend the anniversary reception given by the Soviet ambassador. Foreign Friendship Association chief Wang Bingnan [3769 3521 0589] also attended the traditional reception of the October Revolution, though he only sent his assistant in the past.

#### High-Level Words

At the National People's Congress, Hua Guofeng changed the theory of the inevitability of war to that of the possible postponement of war. The revised new constitution does not mention "social imperialism."

Li Xiannian told an Italian reporter in January: "Talk with the Soviet Union--why not? Since we do not object to U.S.-Soviet talks, how can we object to Sino-Soviet talks? Provided they produce results."

In February this year, Soviet Prime Minister Tikhonov told the Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN that, so long as Sino-Soviet relations are based on equality



and mutual understanding, there are no problems which cannot be solved, but the course should not be pursued unilaterally.

The necessity to reassess the "nine criticisms" was mentioned.

In his talk at the Military Academy, Li Yimang [2621 0001 3047] declared that some of the viewpoints in the "nine criticisms" were incorrect, out-of-date and influenced by dogmatism, that they were sponsored by Kang Sheng [1660 3932], that they produced an unfavorable effect in punishing the capitalist roaders and in the "leftwing" mistakes of the Cultural Revolution, and that they made a wrong judgment of Yugoslavia.

When discussing the issue of studying the Soviet Union at the foreign affairs meeting, Wang Youping pointed out that socialism has all kinds of developments, that, not having studied the Soviet Union for a long time, nor understanding its conditions, we cannot formulate policies, and that the Soviet system is still the public ownership system.

#### Contacts between Experts

In the spring of 1980, the Soviet Union observation report of Liu Ping [0491 1627], a member of the scientific socialism teaching and research group of the Central Party School, was distributed nationwide. It totally affirmed the Soviet socialist system and its development and achievements. Reportedly it was the work of the pro-Soviet "petroleum faction." Displeased, Deng Xiaoping ordered the document recalled.

In 1981, M. S. Kapitsa, chief of the Far Eastern Department, Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and an expert on the China issue, made two private visits to Beijing, contacted Chinese officials and accepted official dinner invitations.

A little later, Tikhvinskiy, a highly qualified Chinese scholar of the Soviet Union, made a private visit to Beijing and met with Wang Bingnan.

It was reported that Soviet technical personnel were invited to China to inspect work, repair machinery and help China improve the work. As many Chinese industrial management and technical personnel were trained in the Soviet Union and the equipment is of the Soviet style, they were more than willing to cooperate with the Soviet Union, in order to seek more practical developments in economic construction.

In March this year, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union Yang Shouzheng [2799 1343 2973], together with three economists, visited and made observations trips in the Soviet Union.

Between last winter and spring, a scientific and technical cooperation delegation and a desert forest belt inspection group were sent successively to the Soviet Union.

## Academic and Cultural Memories

In 1980, Assistant Principal Zhang Guangdou [1728 0342 2435] of Qinghua University made an anti-U.S. speech, listing the shortcomings of U.S. imperialism and stating that China was merely utilizing the United States tactically. Deng Xiaoping explained to the United States that it was only Zhang's personal opinion.

In 1979, China's literary circles published articles to rehabilitate "Fate of a Man" and "And Quiet Flows the Day" by Sholokov, "the founder of revisionist literature," Russian writers Belinskiy and others, and playwright Stanislavskiy, who had all been fiercely criticized in the campaign against revisionism. The Fourth National Literature and Art Congress declared that the Soviet socialist realist literature before Stalin was good, that "there were also good things" afterward, and that "the bad must also be analyzed and studied." The publishers began to reprint many Soviet literary works, such as "How Iron and Steel Are Refined," and many periodicals published recent Soviet works. Soviet films of the seventies, such as "Liberation," were widely shown, arousing the great interest of the public. Periodicals STUDIES OF SOVIET LITERATURE and STUDIES OF THE SOVIET ISSUE were published.

At the symposium on Soviet literature in Heilongjiang, the view that "the Soviet Union follows socialism" was proposed. A signed article was published in A HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF LITERATURE, Number 2, 1980, affirming the purity of the Soviet Union and its socialist system. The article caused a mighty uproar and was reprinted and distributed in the Soviet Union. The Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry declared that the article was "one man's words." The Central Propaganda Department made a written criticism of some leaders of the Heilongjiang provincial party committee, reprimanding them for expressing unauthorized views on the major policies of the state, and ordered the suspension and investigation of the periodical.

### III. Border Dispute--the Main Obstacle

It is believed that, today, the main obstacle to the moderation and improvement of relations between China and the Soviet Union is no longer the ideological struggle of the time when the two countries parted their ways, nor the contest for leadership in the communist world, but the border dispute.

The most noticeable incident was the Zhenbao Island conflict in 1969. Since then, the tense situation has not dissipated. Along the 7,000-km China-Soviet border, both sides have massed large forces, and small-scale conflicts are frequently reported. In recent years, Beijing has continued to publish anti-Soviet statements, and the sharpest words are on the border issue.

Last year, Chairman Li Huichuan [2621 0565 1557] of the China Institute of International Issues published "the Crux of the Sino-Soviet Border

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, 1 July, pointing out that the border issue was the result of the series of unequal treaties forced on China by czarist Russia, and that more than 1.5 million square km of Chinese territory were ceded to Russia. While pointing out the inequities of the Sino-Soviet treaties relevant to the border, the Chinese government agreed to seek solution of the border issue on the basis of the treaties. The article also stated that, on 11 September 1969, Premier Zhou Enlai of China's State Council and Chairman Kosygin of the Soviet Council of Ministers met in the Beijing airport and reached an understanding, thereby providing the foundation and the starting point for border talks. However, the Soviet Union subsequently changed its mind and placed a new color on the talks.

The understanding between Zhou Enlai and Kosygin at that time was: Both sides agreed that the disputes of principle between the two countries should not block the normalization of relations; that the two countries should not go to war on the border issue and that border talks should be held free of any threat; that both sides, for these reasons, should sign a provisional agreement to maintain the status quo of the border, prevent armed conflicts, and sever the contact between their armed forces at the areas under dispute; that they should proceed from there on to the solution of the border issue.

Li Huichuan's article criticized the Soviet Union for failing to honor the understanding between the two chiefs of state, for attacking China and flatly denying the existence of areas under dispute, and for firmly refusing to sever the contact between the armed forces of the two sides at the disputed areas. The article also declared that Russian articles on the Sino-Soviet border issue were incompatible with the facts.

The Soviet military threat is most disturbing to Beijing. More than once, Beijing has pointed out that, in the past decade or more, the Soviet Union has greatly increased its armed forces in areas adjacent to China, deployed a growing number of offensive weapons and carried out maneuvers and activities directed at China. In addition, Beijing has also criticized the Soviet Union for stationing a large armed force in Mongolia pursuant to its military alliance treaty with the latter, deploying it close to the China-Mongolia border, only a few hundred km from Beijing.

A conflict broke out between the Soviet supported Vietnam and China 2 years ago. China felt that Vietnam, under Soviet aegis, promoted a "regional hegemonism" of the "Federation of Indo-China" in the south of China, controlled Laos and occupied Cambodia, threatening China front and back. At Christmas 2 years ago, the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan, causing a great international uproar. As Afghanistan is adjacent to China's Xizang, China feels even more uneasy. By now, China must but feel itself under the Soviet threat in its north, south and west.

Until now, Beijing continues to feel that the Soviet military threat and its hegemonist policy on China are the basic obstacles to the solution of the border issue and the normalization of relations.

#### IV. Possibility of a Thaw?

In spite of the fact that many factors causing the Sino-Soviet conflict have been gradually dispelled, that the leading figures which could make the conflict white-hot have passed away and that the Soviet Union has not again sounded the United States out on a "surgical-type" assault on China, one still cannot be optimistic at present on whether there can be a thaw in Sino-Soviet relations.

The increased contact between the two countries may possibly dispel partially the tense and hostile situation. Until now, both sides still attack each other from time to time in sharp words. In his appeal for reconciliation in Tashkent, Brezhnev used harsh words on China, while China's response specifically declared its objection to Brezhnev's attack.

The possible development is that China and the Soviet Union will increase their contact and make limited "normalization of relations" under the situation of divergence and hostility, and the process will be protracted and subject to the international strategies and economic interests of the two countries.

Many signs indicate that the relations between the two countries are developing along this direction. Even on the thorny border issue, a breakthrough may occur. In the sort of system followed by the Soviet Union and China, the central government only has to issue an order to halt the armed confrontation. Naturally, it seems impossible to ask the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, but some cracks, neither major nor minor, have occurred in Soviet relations with Vietnam. Recently, XINHUA PRESS revealed that China and Mongolia held an unannounced border inspection meeting. The first meeting was in Ulan Bator, the capital of Mongolia, from 18 February to 3 April. According to XINHUA PRESS information, "the two sides discussed the issue of joint inspection of the border and signed the record of the meeting." As everyone knows, Mongolia is a Soviet "satellite," and a large Soviet force has always been stationed on the China-Mongolia border. The reaction of the diplomatic circles was that it was possibly another signal of the progress toward talks between China and the Soviet Union.

Actually, both countries have toned down their mutual attacks, and their words have become more "courteous" than before. During his recent visit to Beijing, Romanian President Ceausescu indicated that, on the issue of Sino-Soviet relations, the two countries could hold direct talks. When discussing the Sino-Soviet issue, Albania also declared that it will not be surprising if the Chinese government seeks to improve relations with the Soviet government.

Sino-Soviet relations have also begun with economic interchanges. Soviet technical personnel, for instance, have been frequently invited to China to inspect work and methodologies. Should the Soviet Union make large purchases of China's export commodities, such as textiles, it will not be unprofitable either. Recently, the two countries signed this year's commodity exchange agreement involving a total value of 600 million Swiss francs, the longest to date over 15 years. Nevertheless, it is difficult to predict how the domestic climate will occur in Sino-Soviet relations in the future and how it will be affected by Sino-U.S. relations by means of "pingpong diplomacy."

One problem in the leading to the many conjectures on a Sino-Soviet "thaw" is the decline in Sino-U.S. relations. U.S. President Reagan's withdrawal of U.S. arms sale to Taiwan has created a strong reaction on the part of China. China officially declared that Sino-U.S. relations would be downgraded to the status prior to 1972. According to information of foreign reporters stationed in Washington, the likelihood of a further downgrade of Sino-U.S. relations is not great, and there have been some revisions in U.S. attitude toward China. In the relations with China and with the Soviet Union, the United States tends to make considerations in terms of international strategy.

The international situation is volatile, and strategic interests will be the decisive factor in Sino-U.S. relations.

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## CHINA WROED TO REMAIN NEUTRAL WITH REGARD TO SUPERPOWERS

Hong Kong NAN BEI JI [NORTH POLE, SOUTH POLE] in Chinese 16 May 82 p 13

[Commentary by Feizi [7378 1311]: "China Card, U.S. and Soviet Union Cards"]

[Text] In the latter Han dynasty a tripartite situation of the Wei, Shu, and Wu took shape in China. Now some people say the China of that time is a miniature of the world today. The Wei, Shu and Wu of that time are the China, United States, and Soviet Union of today.

The Three Kingdoms' tripartite balance of forces and the alliance of Liu Bei with the Kingdom of Wu against Cao Cao's Kingdom of Wei was created by Zhuge Liang singlehandedly. But the Kingdom of Shu did not have any real strength, so even though it had a master of diplomacy like Zhuge Liang, this still couldn't make Shu prosper. Taking a lesson from history, we should understand that diplomacy can only deal with temporary crises and that the permanent solution is still a nation's real strength. Being eager for quick success and instant benefits is not a basis for founding a state.

U.S. diplomacy is now playing its "China card"; recently the Soviet Union has been singing a relaxed diplomatic tune and playing its "China card" because contradictions with the United States have intensified. The two superpowers can play their "China cards," but China cannot play its "U.S. and Soviet Union cards" because its national influence isn't equivalent to theirs. The present international situation is not one of a balance of three forces.

The Third World view put forward by China is a correct one. Today's three powers are only the most prominent, since in addition to the three powers there is the Second World of Western Europe, Japan, Australia and Canada, and at the same time there is the industrially backward Third World of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Furthermore, China itself has not been accepted as one of the three powers. However, because it has special influence in the world, we can insist on ranking China as one of the three powers.

Why does China not want to be side-by-side with the two superpowers, but insists on being part of the Third World? This is because China knows that it is weak and doesn't want to puff itself up at its own expense.



Some friends think that since the United States and the Soviet Union can play their "China cards," why can't China gain advantage from both sides by playing its "U.S. and Soviet Union cards" and cash in on them? For example, wouldn't it be worthwhile to draw a little closer to the Soviet Union to compel the United States to abandon its interference in Taiwan's return to the homeland? It is understandable that the Chinese are anxious to reunify their homeland. But Taiwan's return to the homeland will happen sooner or later, the places lost in the north are much bigger fish than Taiwan, and the Soviet Union is unreliable. Drawing closer to the Soviet Union would not make up for the loss.

There are many large countries in this world which are populous and big but weak, such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Why don't the superpowers play their "India cards," "Pakistan cards," or "Bangladesh cards"? The main reason is that China is organized and can mobilize a large number of troops for battle at any time. If China wants to fight it can go on fighting for a long time and can go on fighting independently. At first, the United States thought China was like India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. But after the lessons of the Vietnam War and the Korean War, the United States came to understand that if it drew China to the right, the United States could increase its bargaining strength vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. This is the significance of the "China card." Actually, as far as the United States and the Soviet Union are concerned, China is a hot potato: you want to eat it, but can't eat it at one gulp.

From China's standpoint, China needs a peaceful environment to realize the four modernizations, and the four modernizations are China's only hope for becoming strong. China is pivotal for balancing the influence of the two superpowers. To lean to either side will create an imbalance. An imbalance will bring world turmoil. The lack of a stable world environment is unfavorable to China's four modernizations. Therefore, China should impartially maintain a certain distance from the two superpowers. To increase strength diplomatically, it had best strive to unite the Third World, and with China's territorial size and large population and that of the Third World make the balance between the two superpowers even more stable.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union each has its satellite states. The United States has the Second World to follow her and the Soviet Union has the satellites of Eastern Europe as well as Cuba and Vietnam. The two superpowers can also choose a battlefield at any time to test their strength and expand their military spheres. These battlefields are mainly places in the Third World.

China should unite the Third World and stop the two superpowers from setting fires everywhere and make a big contribution to maintaining world peace, because the United States and the Soviet Union play with fire and this can expand to world war at any time. Therefore, the conclusion: China should understand its own position and environment. People can play their "China card," but China should not play her "U.S. and Soviet Union cards."

## CRITICISM OF DISSIDENT POET REFUTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 35-36

[Article by Huai Bing [2037 0393]: "Who Should Be Tried, the General or the Poet?"]

[Text] After Bai Hua and Sun Jinxuan made their self-criticisms, the Chinese Communist press (especially JIEFANG JUNBAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY]) recently began criticism of Ye Wenfu's [5509 2429 4395] two poems, "General, You Cannot Do This," (SHIKAN No 8, 1979) and "General, Have a Good Wash" (LIANCHI No 1, 1981), and from there unfolded full-scale criticism of all of his poetry. Why did these two "General" poems cause such a big stir? What justifies the criticism?

### First Shot Against Special Privileges

According to the realist principle of creative writing, "literature and art are reflections of life." But this principle can only be realized in a political situation which allows speaking the truth, otherwise it is all empty talk. The literature and art in the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution" fully proved this. The implementation of political democracy in 1979 led gradually to democracy in literature and art. Also, the Chinese Communist Party, in order to preserve itself, needed to oppose special privileges, so it began, in its newspapers and magazines, making self exposures of crimes by the privileged social stratum past and present. Writers who went through untold suffering inflicted by the privileged social stratum naturally took advantage of this excellent opportunity to cry out against special privileges in the name of the masses of the people. With flaming passion and artistic typification based on facts, Ye Wenfu's "General, You Cannot Do This" launched the fiercest of attacks against the special privileges of the military--the most stubborn bastion of special privileges. The Chinese Communist Army was once the "soldiers of the people," the relationship between the army and the people was once one of fish and water. This began to change in the Mao Zedong era. Some high-ranking military officers became demons riding roughshod over the people. Now Ye Wenfu puts them in the docks, exposing their crimes and bringing them to trial (a trial of conscience).

After the Chinese Communist Party established its regime, Ye Wenfu was the first person to attack, with such heavy brush strokes and almost by naming names, the misdeeds of the military--"heaven's favored ones" who hold the guns under the Chinese Communist regime. More important, the "General" poem, like a huge rock

dropped into the water, sent up endless ripples. We saw that it was only after "General, You Cannot Do This" that works like "Fei Tian," "In the Files of Society," "If I Were the Real One," and "The General and the Soldier" (by Li Jianzhao, member of the editorial committee of YUNNAN RIBAO) appeared, writings that went from attacking feudal special privileges to attacking the special privileges in the entire society under the Chinese Communist Party. Yet these writings, cheered by the people, met with strong protest from the powerful generals, and aroused fear in the political potentates in the Chinese Communist Party. They hinted to the Chinese Dramatists Association and two other associations to call a "Forum on Play-writing" to criticize and repudiate these writings. Strangely enough, Ye's "General, You Cannot Do This" was spared in this criticism. Why? Developments will provide the answer.

### Where Did the Critics Slip Up?

The criticism of the two "General" poems by the Chinese Communist press, like the other literary and artistic critical reviews against liberalization, were rotten performances by the henchmen of the "weathervane faction." They quoted passages out of context and argued irrationally. Below are a few points which this writer will refute, and in so doing show up the ugly features of the "weathervane" critics.

1. Ye Wenfu's prefaces to his two "General" poems were, among other reasons, what stirred up the trouble and caused him to be attacked. In his preface to "General, You Cannot Do This," he wrote, "It is said that a high-ranking officer who was ruthlessly persecuted by the 'gang of four,' upon resuming his leadership post, ordered a kindergarten dismantled to make room for a mansion for himself. The complete modern facilities cost several hundred thousand yuan in foreign exchange." In his preface to "General, Have a Good Wash," he wrote, "It is passed around that a high-ranking officer, after finally defeating his opponent--a lackey of the 'gang of four' in the army--in a life-and-death struggle and taking over the opponent's post, ordered an army construction company (assisted by a mechanized unit) to build a resplendent underground structure beneath his private home. The structure, which took over a year to build, meets all-weather requirements--able to withstand atomic bomb attacks and earthquakes exceeding 9 on the Richter scale. A bathtub in the underground bathroom alone cost close to 10,000 yuan bi! (I really haven't the heart to write 'renmin' [people's] before bi [currency]!)" The critic made this repudiation, "We now know that the writer was inconsistent about the facts cited in the prefaces. First he said his poem was about real people and real happenings, then he said there were all fictitious. It seems he has 'designed' the whole thing carefully. To prove that the story has really taken place, he mentions specifically the high cost of the bathtub, later adding that the exact figure was 9,600 yuan. But after 'Have a Good Wash' was published and comrades concerned asked about it, he said it was fictitious. Something similar happened with regard to the preface to his other poem, 'General, You Cannot Do This.'" The critic adds, "To play with 'true sounding matter that is actually false,' to be deliberately mystifying, and to make a mountain out of a molehill on the question of combating special privileges, something people are deeply concerned about, is really not to be taken as an example." To prove that the poet did the wrong thing, the critic quotes the great

Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, "If my entire work is to depict an original model so that people will want to find out and recall who he is, then I'll be ashamed to have the work published." (Quoted from Zhou Shenmin's "A Look at Ye Wenfu's Creative Tendencies Through 'General, Have a Good Wash,'" from WEN YI BAO No 2, 1981. Later quotes from the same source will not be noted.)

The criticism above is wrong on at least two points:

(1) Literary and art works seek to portray artistic truth on the basis of real life, so the artistic images they create contain elements of both fact and fiction. They are mixtures of the real and the fictitious. The "models" may be taken from life but are essentially different. In a free society, as long as no names are named, the matter will not become a legal question no matter how similar the two are. A line saying "All incidents in this book are fictitious. Any similarity to real people and events is purely coincidental" will suffice. But in a society with no literary or artistic democracy, the situation is entirely different. In his preface, Ye Wenfu only wrote "It is said" that a certain "general" did this and that, and did not name names, yet it caused an uproar among the "generals," who demanded to know just who he had in mind. They bore down with such bluster that it really seemed they would not stop until they had wrung the name from the poet. At the time, the Chinese Communist Party needed to take advantage of the campaign against special privileges to attack the "whatever" faction, so Ye was not afraid of the political pressure and said openly that his poem was based on real persons and events. Then the Chinese Communist Party needed to put a stop to liberalization, so it cast aside democracy and again tightened the reins. To protect himself, Ye said the whole thing was fictitious. This inconsistency is actually the tragedy of Chinese writers. All fair-minded critics should shed tears of sympathy for the plight the writers are in. Yet certain persons, dancing to the baton of politicians, attacked Ye Wenfu. Where are their consciences? (2) Actually, the extravagance and degeneration of the "generals" in the preface are not made up by the poet. The crimes resulting from military special privileges in real life are many times worse than what is depicted by the poet. In cases of building homes, Wang Dongxing [3076 7639 5281] had ancient architecture torn down and his own mansion built, spending we don't know how many times the foreign exchange the "general" spent in building his mansion and underground structure. The "blood-suckers" big and small, and especially their deeds, have been such that they have incurred the wrath of both man and heaven. Why shouldn't a poet with a sense of justice ignite the flame of righteous indignation at the phenomenon in order to burn it to ashes? On this point, the critic was right when he said, "Viewing the poem as a whole, we see that the poet has lost control of his feelings" so that it was hard for him to consider coolly such nuisances as "contradictions among the people" and "contradictions between the enemy and ourselves." Only those without a conscience can remain indifferent to the phenomenon and go about deliberately making theoretical analysis.

2. The critic was extremely displeased that Ye Wenfu should compare the Chinese Communist generals with leaders of ancient peasant rebellions, leaders of bourgeois revolutions, and ancient emperors and kings, holding that to associate and compare them with the Chen Zidaos [7115 0375 6670] is to "confound right and wrong" and

"confuse friend with foe" because "the proletarian revolution is the greatest revolution in the history of mankind, not to be compared with peasant rebellions of the feudal society and bourgeois democratic revolutions." We will not for the time being discuss whether this "proletarian revolution," which has brought increasing poverty and less and less democracy and freedom, is the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. We will only discuss whether it is appropriate to compare "proletarian revolutionaries" with the other leaders.

On this point I believe it is necessary to understand the characteristics of comparison in creative writing. Lenin said, "All comparisons are poor stuff." In all comparisons, one should compare only a certain aspect of two things, not all aspects of the two things, much less compare the essence. Are the present Chinese Communist "generals" and "officials" like what Ye Wenfu described? Were not the exposures made the the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution and some of the exposures made by official organs of the Chinese Communist Party since the Cultural Revolution shocking enough? How different are their deeds from the extravagance and dissipation of "generals" and "officials" of the past? If they insist on sticking to the wrong course and refuse criticism, and counter by attacking their critics, they will not have a better end than the generals and officials of the past. If you do not believe me, just wait and see!

#### Plenty of Supporters

At this point I recall an informal essay by the veteran writer Huang Shang [7806 5951], published in an early March issue of TA KUNG PAO, entitled "A Towering Rage for the Sake of a Beautiful Lady." This title is a line from a poem, written by the Qing Dynasty poet Wu Meicun, modking General Wu Sangui [0702 0005 2710], who flew into a towering rage when Chen Yuanyaun [7115 0955 0955] was kidnapped by Liu Zongmin [0491 1350 2404] (the Liu Zongmin mentioned in Ye Wenfu's poem, "There you can find the headless corpse of Liu Zongmin"), and so opened the way for the Qing troops to enter Shanhaiguan and defeat Li Zicheng [2621 5261 2052]. What was General Wu Sangui's attitude, according to Huang Shang, when he read the poem? "Wu Sangui did not engage a lawyer to sue the poet for slander and calumny, nor did he use his 'mighty power' to bring political pressure to bear, nor did he despatch his minor officers to do away with Wu Meicun. Why? He wanted to buy the poem with stupendous remuneration, a 'carriageful of gold.' Yet the scholar (Wu Meicun) refused." On this point Wu Meicun showed great integrity. What weapon did Wu Meicun hold in his hands? Just a brush. What was Wu Sangui afraid of? Would a big warlord and traitor like him really be afraid of a scholar?

Huang Shang's works are well said. Does he not mean that the generals in a socialist society do not even measure up to Wu Sangui (will not the lovable Chinese Communist critics accuse Huang Shang of "confusing right and wrong" and "making no distinction between the enemy and ourselves")? The socialist generals brought tremendous pressure to bear on Ye Wenfu, while Wu Sangui was ready to buy a poem with a high price. Huang also said that Wu Meicun, with only a brush in his hand,



dared to defy the mighty Wu Sangui, and was not tempted by money. An admirable stand! Is he not giving moral support to Ye Wenfu who even now will not knuckle under to political pressure? There is no lack of writers with integrity on the Chinese mainland! Isn't it something to rejoice over? .

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## TAIWAN NAVY STRENGTHENS DEFENSE AGAINST PRC SUBS

Taipei CHUNG-YANG JIH-PAO in Chinese 23 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Correspondent Chiang Ch'i-kuang [3068 0796 3171]: "Guarantee That Coastal Area and Territorial Seas Will be Safeguarded"]

[Text] Surrounded by seas, Taiwan is an island realm whose economic development depends on open sea lanes. The maintenance and protection of ocean communications lines is one of the major duties of our navy. Consequently, the building of a powerful anti-submarine combat capability is extremely important in the navy's war preparedness build-up.

Western military observers believe that the Chinese Communist gang is currently changing to "air, fast attack crafts, and submarines" in the development of its naval forces. Except for "air" (meaning missiles), torpedo FAC are suited only for in-shore and coastal combat and would not be able to bring into play their combat capabilities in the Taiwan Straits. Thus, one might say that submarines are the Communist navy's major attack ships.

The 1981 Statesman annual reported the active Chinese Communist development of submarines. They now have 92 submarines, a force that cannot be ignored.

The excellent combat skill shown by the navy's officers and men in the "Sea Shark" anti-submarine war preparedness exercise of the fleet yesterday, and the anti-submarine weapons with which the anti-submarine fleet is equipped serve to demonstrate the active efforts of our navy in strengthening anti-submarine combat strength, which is sufficient to deal a painful head-on blow to any intruding Chinese Communist submarines, and sufficient, as well, to safeguard the security of the seas around Taiwan.

Navy commander-in-chief, Admiral Tsou Chien [6760 1017] noted that in the development of its combat strength, the navy has consistently directed its efforts toward "missile weapons" and "computerization of fire control." In day to day combat training, in particular, it has stressed a combination of combat skill and spiritual combat strength to meet all naval combat requirements.

In this "Sea Shark" anti-submarine war-preparedness exercise, the missiles made by ourselves, and the precision anti-submarine rocket computer-launched control system with which the navy destroyers were equipped, as well as the adeptness at combat skills of naval officers and men all attest to efforts the navy has made to strengthen combat strength.

The missile fast crafts made by ourselves that the navy revealed to the people of the country last year show superior performance and have encouraged the armed forces and people of the entire country, demonstrating the achievements of the navy's efforts in "self reliance for development."

In the recent anti-submarine war preparedness exercise, even though the navy's anti-submarine destroyers were not of the newest kinds; nevertheless, as a result of the steady intensified maintenance and replacement of the ships' equipment by navy officers and men for many years, these destroyers are able to meet standards demanded of modern anti-submarine combat. This situation not only shows the navy's practice of "frugality in building the armed forces," but also shows the efforts made by the nation's armed forces in straitened circumstances when purchase of new weapons is not easy.

According to one high ranking naval officer, the navy is able to bring into play powerful anti-submarine combat strength using its existing destroyers, and they have caused many foreign military experts to accord them more respect. This is an honor for the navy, and is also a remarkable achievement in our use of tactics, methods, and training excellence.

Faced with a situation of active Chinese Communist naval development of submarines, the powerful anti-submarine combat strength of our navy suffices to rout this threat and to smash Chinese Communist plans to secretly invade from the sea. As Fleet Commander Lo [5012] pointed out, the navy has the confidence and the strength to stop any intrusive actions by Chinese Communist submarines.

Judging from yesterday's "Sea Shark" anti-submarine war preparedness exercise when visibility at sea for officers and men was by no means ideal, the rapid and precise joint naval and air anti-submarine actions to complete the objectives of the exercise made the correspondents on the spot who were observing the exercise genuinely believe that Commander Lo's words were totally devoid of any exaggeration.

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## TAIWAN NAVY CONDUCTS ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE EXERCISE

Taipei LIEN-HO PAO in Chinese 23 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by Correspondent Chin Chao-fu [6855 5728 7833]: "Navy Conducts Sea Shark Exercise; Reveals Sea and Air Anti-Submarine Weapons"]

[Text] An anti-submarine fleet composed of four naval destroyers conducted a large scale "Sea Shark Exercise" in the open sea this morning in coordination with two 500 MD anti-submarine helicopters and two S-2E anti-submarine aircraft. A navy submarine made public for the first time acted as an imaginary enemy in the exercise.

This exercise also formally displayed to the people of the country a new type "Ai ssu lo k'o" [phonetic] anti-submarine missile launcher and Type MK-46 sound-seeking torpedoes.

"Exercise Sea Shark" got underway at 0830 hours. At 0900, hours after the fleet had cleared shipping lanes and formed up, anti-submarine missiles and anti-submarine helicopters went into action. In providing an explanation, military personnel noted that the 500 MD anti-submarine helicopters with which the navy destroyers are equipped possess high anti-submarine and detection capabilities. Should a Chinese Communist submarine plan to intrude, before it could attack our ships, it would be sunk.

At 0930 hours, shipboard sonar discovered a submarine stalking. The fleet changed formation at once and began hunt and destroy operations with all anti-submarine weapons. After the anti-submarine helicopters took off, they immediately used their electronic detection systems to find and lock on to the submarine's position and direction and to drop smoke markers to mark its position. The hunt and destroy S-2E anti-submarine airplanes acted in coordination to drop mock depth charges on the submarine. Under combined naval and air hunt and attack operations, the submarine had no way to escape. At 1010 hours, the submarine surfaced to bring to a close the "cat and mouse" type anti-submarine exercise.

A navy spokesman pointed out that Taiwan is entirely surrounded by the ocean and that its economic development must rely on open ocean shipping lanes. "Exercise Sea Shark" is an anti-submarine war preparedness exercise that the fleet regularly carries out as a live exercise for tempering officers and men and refining their combat skills.

Following conclusion of the exercise, navy commander, Admiral Tsou Chien [6760 1017] told reporters that future replacements of navy ship equipment would strive toward "increased use of missiles in weapons systems," and the "computerization of fire control systems," and with spiritual combat strength, make the maximum use of our capability to defend Taiwan's security.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. 500 MD anti-submarine helicopters taking off.
2. Anti-submarine missile being loaded into "Ai-ssu-lo-ke" [phonetic] missile launcher.
3. Navy S-2E anti-submarine aircraft and submarine revealed for the first time.

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## TAIWAN NAVY EQUIPPED WITH NEW ASW WEAPONS

Taipei CHUNG-YANG JIH-PAO in Chinese 23 Apr 82 p 3

[Article: "Anti-Submarine Helicopters, Sound-Seeking Torpedoes, and Anti-Submarine Missiles. Taiwan's Navy Destroyers Fully Equipped with New Weapons"]

[Text] During the recent joint naval and air anti-submarine combat exercise, Taiwan's navy showed the newest anti-submarine weapons with which its destroyers have been equipped. The navy has been equipped with these new weapons for quite some time; however, they have never been revealed heretofore. They include 500 MD anti-submarine helicopters, sound-seeking anti-submarine torpedoes, and anti-submarine rocket missiles with launchers. The nose of the 500 MD's contains a sea surface search radar, which is able to conduct a search at a maximum distance of 240 nautical miles. Beneath the left wing of the aircraft is suspended a HAD magnetic detector which is used to search for craft sailing either beneath or atop the surface.

Beneath the belly of the plane can be hung two extremely powerful anti-submarine torpedoes and surface fixed-position smoke markers. The combination of the 500 MD's and the S-2E anti-submarine helicopters constitute the navy's most effective weapons for detecting and attacking enemy submarines.

Torpedoes are the most frequently used weapons for attacking submarines. Sound-seeking torpedoes are propelled by air thrust to the rear at high pressure, and use sound waves in the water to automatically pursue enemy submarines. No matter how the enemy submarine changes its direction of movement, the sound-seeking torpedoes are able to change their direction as well and destroy them.

The anti-submarine rocket missile launcher is a multi-target weapons system, which can fire extremely powerful fish spear ship-to-ship missiles. Today our naval destroyers are equipped with these launchers. A naval officer noted that the performance of the new weapons and electronic systems that our navy possesses is actually greater than that of the weapons shown. Others such as the 76 rapid firing gun and the 57 rapid firing gun are being readied for installation by the navy.

Photo Captions [photos not reproduced]

1. Anti-submarine helicopter
2. Sound-seeking torpedo
3. Anti-submarine missile

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## TAIWAN NAVY DEMONSTRATES ITS ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE CAPABILITY

Taipei CHUNG-YANG JIH-PAO in Chinese 23 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Correspondent Chiang Ch'i-kuang [3068 0796 3171]: "Great Fleet Shows Might, Navy Displays Formidable Strength"]

[Text] Yesterday a naval fleet conducted an anti-submarine war preparation exercise in the open sea off Tsoying and Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan in which the navy's formidable anti-submarine warfare capabilities were openly demonstrated for the first time.

This anti-submarine war preparation exercise, dubbed "Sea Shark," which was an exercise employing live troops, tempered officers and men and refined combat techniques. It was carried out under the direction of Navy General Headquarters Admiral Tsou Chien [6760 1017]. In the course of a 2 hour and 30 minute exercise, a fleet composed of four navy destroyers, S-2E anti-submarine fixed wing aircraft, 500-MD anti-submarine helicopters, and a submarine rapidly and precisely acted in coordination to successfully complete the training objectives of this joint naval and air anti-submarine war preparedness exercise, fully demonstrating the training excellence and adeptness in combat techniques of the navy in anti-submarine war preparations.

The Navy's "Sea Lion" submarine was also involved in this war preparedness exercise, demonstrating openly for the first time their training excellence and combat skills.

"Sea Shark" exercises are anti-submarine war preparedness exercises frequently conducted by the Navy.

Yesterday the weather at sea off Tsoying and Kaohsiung was warm and sunny, and through arrangements made by Navy General Headquarters, the domestic military reporter corps boarded warships to go to sea for an on-site view of this live naval exercise.

At 0830 hours, four destroyers, each of which was equipped with anti-submarine rockets, sound-seeking torpedoes, 500-MD anti-submarine helicopters, missiles, and such excellent anti-submarine and naval combat weapons, rapidly completed an exercise in clearing shipping lanes, formed up and sailed away from the Tsoying Naval Harbor pier headed for the live anti-submarine war preparedness exercise at sea.



The combat formations into which these four destroyers formed were ocean detection, ocean surface combat, and anti-submarine combat. Acting in close coordination with the S-2E anti-submarine fixed wing aircraft, they rapidly moved forward in pursuit of an imaginary target in this anti-submarine drill --the submarine, "Sea Lion," against which they conducted anti-submarine operations.

The S-2E anti-submarine fixed wing aircraft are equipped with precision detection instruments. Two anti-submarine fixed wing aircraft used this equipment to rapidly detect a submarine target beneath the surface of the water, immediately notifying the anti-submarine warships, which moved in for the kill.

Upon getting a precise fix on the submarine, the officers and men aboard the anti-submarine destroyers charged with this anti-submarine task completed within 90 seconds all combat preparations. The sound-seeking torpedoes aboard the anti-submarine destroyers used on-board sonar equipment to zero in on the target. The on-board anti-submarine rockets used a precision computer fire-control system to get a fix on the imaginary target submarine.

Anti-submarine missiles are the principle equipment in current use by the world's navies for anti-submarine combat. These missiles, which are used only for attacks on submarines, can accurately attack and destroy any underwater target within a range of 10,000 yards.

After the commanding officers aboard the anti-submarine destroyers received the detection report from the S-2E anti-submarine fixed wing aircraft, in order to fix the location of the underwater target with greater accuracy they immediately dispatched an on-board 500-MD anti-submarine helicopter to conduct detection. Aboard the 500-MD anti-submarine helicopters were anti-submarine torpedoes and smoke screen shells to fix positions on the water surface as well as a detection system surpassing performance. The anti-submarine helicopter had low-flying detection capabilities. The on-board detection equipment could accurately detect objects beneath the water surface, and after determining the object to be a submarine, smoke-screen shells could be dropped to fix its position and report to the destroyers the location of the underwater target.

Following triangular detection by sonar, the S-2E fixed wing aircraft, and the anti-submarine helicopter, the intruding submarine target was completely exposed. After the four anti-submarine destroyers got a fix on the target, they immediately changed to their anti-submarine formation to prevent the submarine from slipping away.

In view of the superior and adept combat actions taken by the naval officers and men, and the close coordination between naval and air units in anti-submarine operations, the imaginary target of this "Sea Shark" exercise, the submarine "Sea Lion," had no means of escape. The anti-submarine naval fleet successfully completed the training goals of this live naval operation.

At 1035 hours, the "Sea Shark" operation was completed and the anti-submarine warships began to return to base. At this time, the submarine "Sea Lion" surfaced at a steep angle in a salute to the commanders of the exercise. This maneuver of the "Sea Lion" in coming to the surface was a fairly difficult one that demonstrated the superior training of our navy's submarines.

Following the exercise, the fleet commander responsible for this marine anti-submarine war preparedness exercise, Vice-Admiral Lo [5012] pointed out that for many years the navy has followed the principles of "development through its own efforts," and "frugality in the build-up of forces" for active build-up of forces in preparation for war. In the strengthening of anti-submarine combat strength, in particular, no efforts have been spared. Now, remarkable success has been attained in both tactics and methods and in replacement of equipment, and great strides have been taken toward meeting the standards required in modern anti-submarine combat to prevent encroachments by Communist bandit submarines.

Photo Caption [photo not reproduced]

1. The submarine "Sea Lion," which participated in yesterday's exercise afloat on the surface of the sea.

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